# The Origin and Development

## of the

# Story of Troilus and Criseyde.

## CHAPTER I.

### The Relations of *Filostrato* to the *Roman de Troie* and to the *Historia Troiana*.

The earliest extant account of the unfortunate love of Troilus and Briseida[1] is that contained in certain disconnected passages of the *Roman de Troie*[2] of Benoit de Sainte-Maure, written about the year 1160.[3] The *Roman de Troie* is in the main[4] based upon two Latin forgeries known as *Dictys Cretensis Ephemeris Belli Troiani*,[5] of the fourth century A.D.,[6] and *Daretis Phrygii De Excidio Troiae Historia*,[7] of the sixth century.[8] In the part

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[1] As far as possible, I shall use the spelling of this heroine's name prevailing in the work under immediate discussion from time to time. On the spelling of the name by Boccaccio and by Chaucer, see especially Skeat, *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, II, Oxford, 1894, pp. lxiv–lxv; G. L. Hamilton, *Chaucer's Indebtedness to Guido delle Colonne*, New York, 1903, pp. 134–135; J. L. Lowes, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XX (1905), 823–829; J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, Chaucer Society, London, 1907, pp. 30–32. For Boccaccio's use of the name *Briseida*, see *Ameto* (*Opere Volgari*, Vol. XV, Firenze, Moutier, 1833, p. 136) and *Filocolo* (*Opere Volgari*, Vol. VII, Firenze, 1829, p. 278).

[2] In general, I shall refer to the edition of L. Constans, of which two volumes (*Le Roman de Troie par Benoit de Sainte-Maure*, Paris, 1904–1906), containing lines 1–14958, are already published. To the complete text of A. Joly (*Benoit de Sainte-More et Le Roman de Troie*, Vol. II, Paris, 1871) I shall refer for the part of the poem not yet edited by Constans.

[3] On this date see especially G. Paris, *La Littérature Française au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1905, p. 80; G. Gröber, *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*, II, 1, Strassburg, 1898, p. 583; E. Langlois, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LXVI, 108; L. Constans, in L. Petit de Julleville's *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Française*, Tome I, Paris, 1896, p. 198; P. Meyer, *Romania*, XXIII, 16.

[4] On Benoit's use of Dictys and Dares and of supplementary sources, see Joly, I, 218–233; W. Greif, *Die mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen der Trojanersage*, Marburg, 1886, pp. 13–54.

[5] Edited by F. Meister, Lipsiae, 1872.

[6] See N. E. Griffin, *Dares and Dictys*, Baltimore, 1907, p. 3. I owe much to advance sheets of Dr. Griffin's treatise.

[7] Edited by F. Meister, Lipsiae, 1873.      [8] See Griffin, p. 5.

of his poem recounting the episode of the love of Troilus and Briseida,[1] Benoit follows Dares, whose fragmentary information concerning the chief characters involved may be outlined as follows [2]:

In the first place, Dares gives us the "portraits" of the three main figures. Troilus is described briefly, as follows:

"Troilum magnum, pulcherrimum, pro aetate valentem, fortem, cupidum virtutis." [3]

Briseida is placed among the Greeks with the following portrait:

"Briseidam formosam, non alta statura, candidam, capillo flavo et molli, superciliis iunctis, oculis venustis, corpore aequali, blandam, affabilem, verecundam, animo simplici, piam." [4]

Diomedes is described as follows:

"Diomedem fortem quadratum, corpore honesto, vultu austero, in bello acerrimum, clamosum, cerebro calido, impatientem, audacem." [5]

Elsewhere in the *Historia* Dares tells us that in one of his fights [6] Troilus wounds Diomedes,—

"Troilus Diomedem sauciat." [7]

We are told that Calchas, the Trojan priest, met Achilles at Delphi, and by command of the oracle joined the Greeks.[8] These few details substantially exhaust Dares' contribution toward a story of Troilus and Briseida.

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[1] *Roman de Troie*, 5211–5224, 5275–5288, 5393–5446, 13086–13120, 13261–13866, 14267–14357, to which are to be added from the edition of Joly, 14927–15112, 15572–15594, 20057–20330, 20591–20670, 21369–21484.

[2] Although Dictys gives an account of the relations of Hippodamia, daughter of Brises, to Achilles and to Agamemnon (ii, 17, 19, 33, 49, 52 ; iv, 15), he nowhere calls her Briseida. Dictys has no equivalent for Dares' "portraits" of Diomedes, Briseida, and Troilus (cap. xii, xiii), to which are evidently due the corresponding "portraits" in Benoit's poem (*R. de T.*, 5211–5224, 5275–5288, 5393–5446). Dictys mentions Troilus only in recording his death :—"Capti etiam Lycaon et Troilus Priamidae, quos in medium productos Achilles iugulari iubet indignatus nondum sibi a Priamo super his, quae secum tractaverat, mandatum. Quae ubi animadvertere Troiani, tollunt gemitum et clamore lugubri Troili casum miserandum in modum deflent recordati aetatem eius admodum inmaturam, qui in primis pueritiae annis cum verecundia ac probitate, tum praecipue forma corporis amabilis atque acceptus popularibus adolescebat " (iv, 9). Diomedes is mentioned frequently in the *Ephemeris* (i, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19 ; ii, 9, 15, 19, 20, 32, 41, 48 ; iii, 4, 12, 17, 19 ; iv, 3, 7 ; v, 15 ; vi, 2), but never in relation to Troilus. Calchas appears as a Greek priest, without a daughter (i, 15, 17, 21 ; ii, 30 ; iv, 18 ; v, 7).

[3] Cap. xii, p. 15.      [4] Cap. xiii, p. 17.      [5] Cap. xiii, p. 16.
[6] Cap. xxix, p. 35 ; xxxi, p. 37 ; xxxiii, p. 39.
[7] Cap. xxxi, p. 37.         [8] Cap. xv, p. 20.

# The Chaucer Society.

## NOTICE.

During the years 1903–6, the Society's Editors did not enable it to issue any Text except the short No. 36, the *Four-Days' Journey from London to Canterbury and back of the Aragonese Ambassadors in 1415*. But several Subscribers generously continued to pay their Subscriptions, so that the Society has now rather more than £800 in hand to pay for its issues of 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906 and 1907, five years. These issues will be dated 1907 or 1908, &c., the year in which they are sent out, but about £200 worth of work will be assigned to each of the back years in which no Text was issued. The present volume, Prof. Tatlock's *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, will be taken as the second Text for 1903. It is hoped that Prof. McCormick will soon issue two vols. for 1904, and Miss Spurgeon and Miss Fox one—the *Chaucer Allusions*, 1360–1900, Pt. I—for 1905, with Prof. Syphard's work on *The Hous of Fame*, which has been for some months in the printers' hands. So far as is possible, the money paid in for every year will be spent on Texts for that year; and these Texts will be sent to the payers of the money.

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The Announcements as to the issues for 1907 on the cover of Prof. Tatlock's volume will be alterd, in future Texts, so as to correspond with the Notice above.

F. J. Furnivall.

*June 14, 1907.*

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To

𝔜rofessor George 𝔏yman 𝔎ittredge

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# PREFACE.

THIS study, in substantially its present form, was presented in 1907 to the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University in fulfilment of one of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Professor George Lyman Kittredge suggested to me the subject here treated, and every step in the investigation was made under his direct guidance. In addition to constant generous advice, I owe to Professor Kittredge most of the training without which I could never have undertaken the investigation at all. Professor Ford, Professor Schofield, and Professor Robinson allowed me to consult them at all times. By his kindness in criticizing my manuscript in detail, Professor Sheldon has saved me from more than one inaccuracy. I cannot easily express my indebtedness to Mr. E. H. Wilkins, who, with the utmost generosity, has communicated to me both the results and the processes of his investigation of the biography of Boccaccio. The occasional references to Mr. Wilkins in footnotes are only a slight indication of my indebtedness. Dr. N. E. Griffin greatly aided me by allowing me to use advance sheets of his treatise on Dictys and Dares. To Dr. G. L. Hamilton, from whose published opinion I am sometimes obliged to dissent, I owe much kind and helpful criticism.

From the brevity, meagreness, and ill-assortment of the information in Dares' work as we have it, and from certain indications found in later writers who are clearly basing their accounts on Dares, certain scholars have assumed that there must have existed a more extended form of Dares' *Historia*, of which our extant text is a mere epitome.[1] It is not our present task to consider the whole problem of the possible relations of our extant text of Dares to an assumed more extended original, but merely to inquire whether or not any such original would be likely to contain a love story of Troilus and Briseida.

Those who believe that such a story existed in the more extended Dares text have really accomplished nothing beyond showing that the Briseida, Troilus, Diomedes, and Calchas of Dares' *Historia* lent themselves easily to such a treatment as Benoit gave them.[2] These writers have assumed, therefore, that these suggestive figures in our Dares must be the detritus of a former love story resembling Benoit's account of Troilus and Briseida. To such a hypothesis there are at least the following objections:

1. According to Dares, Troilus is a Trojan, while Briseida is placed among the Greeks, and the two characters are never brought into any relation whatever. To meet this difficulty it has been suggested[3] that, since Calchas was first with the Trojans and then with the Greeks, his daughter Briseida might naturally be listed with either party. This suggestion, however, involves the unwarranted assumption that Calchas was associated with Briseida, an association concerning which Dares gives no suggestion.[4]

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[1] Among the advocates of a larger version are G. Koerting (*Dictys und Dares*, Halle, 1874, pp. 67–119), R. Jaeckel (*Dares Phrygius und Benoit de Sainte-More*, Breslau, 1875), and G. Paris (*Romania*, III, 131–134 ; *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*, VIII, 9 Mai, 1874, pp. 289–292). Their view is opposed by H. Dunger (*Die Sage vom trojanischen Kriege*, Leipzig, 1869, pp. 12, 17–18), Joly (I, 201–203), F. Meister (*Daretis Phrygii De Excidio Troiae Historia*, Lipsiae, 1873, p. xvi), Greif (pp. 54–55), and E. Joseph (*Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, VIII, 117–119).

[2] That such a love story existed in a larger Dares is unreservedly believed by Jaeckel (pp. 44–45), and less confidently by Koerting (pp. 69, 95). Such a possibility is rejected by Joly (I, 285–290), and by Greif (pp. 35–37). See also K. Eitner (*Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, III, 17) ; W. Hertzberg (*id.*, VI, 182–183) ; Dunger (p. 36) ; R. Dernedde (*Über die den altfranzösischen Dichtern bekannten epischen Stoffe aus dem Altertum*, Erlangen, 1887, pp. 122–123).

[3] Koerting, p. 96.

[4] Cf. Joseph, *Zeitschrift f. Rom. Philol.*, VIII, 119.

2. Dares does not hint that either Troilus or Briseida ever had a love affair.[1]

3. Dares mentions no relation between Troilus and Diomedes that would not be perfectly natural between any two warriors on opposing sides.   In the words,

<center>"Troilus Diomedem sauciat," [2]</center>

Dares gives no suggestion of any connection of Diomedes with a hypothetical love affair of Troilus and Briseida.   We need see no special significance in a Trojan warrior's wounding a Greek.[3] These difficulties have never been fairly met, and with the evidence as it stands at present, he who assumes a story of Troilus and Briseida in a hypothetical larger Dares is allowing himself a mere guess.   From the facts before us, it seems far more reasonable to infer that, taking the promising materials provided by Dares,—a heroine with such attributes as "affabilis" and "oculis venustis," a hero described as "pulcherrimus, pro aetate valens," and a rival who was "cerebro calido,"—taking these materials, Benoit, writing at a time when love stories were all the fashion, embellished the sober history of Dares with a third love story like the other two such stories in his poem, that of Jason and Medea[4] and that of Achilles and Polyxena.[5]

In 1287[6] Guido delle Colonne produced in Latin prose his *Historia Troiana*,[7] based mainly upon the *Roman de Troie* of Benoit, whom he does not mention.[8]   From Dares, Benoit, and Guido there developed the huge body of romance and pseudo-history concerning the Trojan war so well known to Western Europe during the Middle Ages,[9] and from these three authors,

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[1] Cf. Joseph, *loc. cit.*, pp. 118–119.   To say that the words "oculis venustis," applied both to Briseida (Dares, cap. xiii, p. 17) and to Polyxena (cap. xii, p. 16), imply that Briseida, like Polyxena, probably had a love affair of some kind, is giving way to pure conjecture.   Cf. Jaeckel, p. 44.

[2] Dares, cap. xxxi, p. 37.   Cf. Jaeckel, p. 44.

[3] It is to be noted that in the *Roman de Troie* Benoit tells of a fight between Troilus and Diomedes a considerable time before he hints of a love affair between Troilus and Briseida, and so much the longer before he connects Diomedes with this love affair.   Cf. *R. de T.*, 10725–10746.

[4] *R. de T.*, 1211–2044.

[5] *Id.* (Joly), 17457–18454, 20679–20852, 21176–21225, 21653–22256.

[6] On this date see R. Barth, *Guido de Columna*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 9.

[7] I use the edition of Strassburg, 1489.

[8] On Guido's relations to Benoit and to Dares, see Dunger, pp. 61–64 ; Joly, I, 472–484 ; E. Gorra, *Testi Inediti di Storia Trojana*, Torino, 1887, pp. 109–151 ; Greif, pp. 57–64 ; Barth, pp. 12–32 ; H. Morf, *Romania*, XXI, 18–21.   Cf. Hamilton, *Chaucer's Indebtedness*, etc., pp. 41–42.

[9] On this development see Greif, pp. 57–103 ; Joly, I, 397–524 ; Dunger, pp. 21–81.

directly or indirectly, Boccaccio drew the materials for his *Filostrato*. As to which of these authors provided Boccaccio with his story and as to the channels by which it may have reached him, scholars have not agreed. The history of opinion on this point we may now review.

The opinions hitherto held regarding the source of *Filostrato* [1] may be grouped in several classes : [2]

1. Le Clerc held that *Filostrato* is a mere development of the episode of Troilus and Briseida as it occurs in the *Roman de Troie*. [3]

2. Dunger, [4] Bartoli, [5] Mamroth, [6] and Barth [7] have held that Boccaccio drew the material for his poem from Guido's *Historia Troiana*.

3. Joly, [8] Gaspary, [9] Morf, [10] Savj-Lopez, [11] Volpi, [12] and Wiese and Pércopo, [13] while admitting the possible supplementary use of Guido, assign the main influence to Benoit.

4. Hertzberg, [14] Landau, [15] and Gorra [16] seem to believe in the preponderance of Guido's influence, but do not deny the possibility of the supplementary influence of Benoit.

5. Moland and D'Héricault, [17] Sandras, [18] Kissner, [19] and Hortis [20]

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[1] I use the edition of Moutier, Firenze, 1831, *Opere volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Vol. XIII.

[2] For part of the bibliography of this subject, see V. Crescini, *Contributo agli Studi sul Boccaccio*, Torino, 1887, p. 195, note 1 ; P. Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 445 ; Hamilton, p. 67, note 1.

[3] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1862, pp. 583–584. Cf. F. Novati, *Istoria di Patroclo e d'Insidoria*, Torino, 1888, pp. xxvi–xxvii.

[4] Dunger, pp. 36, 65.

[5] A. Bartoli, *I Precursori del Boccaccio*, Firenze, 1876, pp. 65–66.

[6] F. Mamroth, *Geoffrey Chaucer, seine Zeit und seine Abhängigkeit von Boccaccio*, Breslau, 1872, p. 54.

[7] Barth, pp. 32, 34. Cf. G. Koerting, *Dictys und Dares*, Halle, 1874, p. 94.

[8] Joly, I, 504.

[9] A. Gaspary, *Geschichte der Italienischen Literatur*, Bd. II, Berlin, 1888, p. 638.

[10] This seems to be the opinion of Morf, *Romania*, XXI, 106.

[11] P. Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 449.

[12] G. Volpi, *Il Trecento*, Milano, n.d., p. 99.

[13] B. Wiese und E. Pércopo, *Geschichte der Italienischen Literatur*, Leipzig und Wien, 1899, p. 154.

[14] W. Hertzberg, *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, VI, 200.

[15] M. Landau, *Giovanni Boccaccio : sein Leben und seine Werke*, Stuttgart, 1877, pp. 90–91.

[16] E. Gorra, *Testi Inediti di Storia Trojana*, Torino, 1877, pp. 339–340.

[17] L. Moland et C. D'Héricault, *Nouvelles Françoises en prose du XIVe siècle*, Paris, 1858, p. xciii.

[18] E. G. Sandras, *Étude sur G. Chaucer*, Paris, 1859, p. 42.

[19] A. Kissner, *Chaucer in seinen Beziehungen zur Italienischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1867, p. 23.

[20] A. Hortis, *Studj sulle Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, Trieste, 1879, p. 118.

express no opinion as to whether Benoit or Guido is the source of *Filostrato*.

6. Koerting,[1] Crescini,[2] Wager,[3] and Greif,[4] without adducing evidence, merely suggest the possibility that Boccaccio's source was some Italian version either of Benoit or of Guido.

7. Professor Skeat, without adducing evidence, expresses the opinion that Boccaccio followed "some recension of the French text of Benoit."[5]

That either Benoit or Guido is, directly or indirectly, the source of Boccaccio's poem has never been questioned. From the review of opinion before us it appears that most scholars have held that Boccaccio drew his material *directly* from one or from both of these writers. An examination of the pertinent documents accessible reveals no support, I think, for the view of those who surmise that Boccaccio used an Italian translation of Benoit or of Guido, or a French redaction of Benoit.[6] Although we conclude that Boccaccio dealt *directly* with Benoit, or with Guido, or with both, we are still left with varying opinions as to whether he used either of these authors exclusively, or, if he used both, as to the proportions in which he drew from each. Since most of the opinions hitherto expressed have been accompanied by no evidence at all, and since no complete examination of all the accessible evidence has been made,[7] it is necessary now to examine in some detail the relation of the text of *Filostrato* to the text of Benoit and of Guido. It is to be noted at the outset that Benoit and Guido agree so essentially in recounting the episode of Troilus and Briseida that internal evidence fails to reveal from which of the two Boccaccio derived the bulk of his story. In details, however, the French poem and the Latin "history" differ conspicuously, and an examination of these differences may yield indications as to which of the two Boccaccio used in particular

[1] G. Koerting, *Boccaccio's Leben und Werke*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 590.

[2] Crescini, *Contributo*, etc., p. 195.

[3] C. H. A. Wager, *The Seege of Troye*, New York, 1899, p. xxii.

[4] Greif, pp. 65, 69.   Cf. Gorra, p. 339.

[5] W. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Vol. II, Oxford, 1894, p. lxiii.

[6] My examination of this point appears in Appendix A.   It may be said in passing that it does not appear why no one has made the only remaining guess,—that Boccaccio used a French redaction of the *Historia Troiana!* See P. Meyer, *Romania*, XIV, 65.

[7] The most detailed study of this question is that by P. Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 442-479.   Savj-Lopez, as he himself says (p. 449), makes no attempt to exhaust the evidence.

instances.[1]  We may first examine such evidence as points to Boccaccio's having used the *Historia Troiana*.

According to Boccaccio, when Troilo hears of the decision to surrender Griseida to the Greeks, he faints, and his kinsmen try to comfort him,—

> ". . . in tanta mole
> Di danno e di periglio, tramortito
> Lì cadde Troilo d'alto duol ferito.
>
> Il quale Priamo prese infra le braccia,
> Ed Ettore e' fratei, temendo forte
> Dell' accidente, e ciascun si procaccia
> Di confortarlo . . .
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .
> Ma poco ancor valeva l' operare."[2]

In the absence of any such incident in the *Roman de Troie*, Boccaccio may be following Guido's parallel account,—

"Troilus . . . multo dolore deprimitur et torquetur.  Funditurque quasi totus in lacrimis anxiosis suspiriis et lamentis, nec est qui ex caris eius eum valeat consolari."[3]

Several writers[4] have asserted that the somewhat elaborate episode of Griseida's fainting[5] during her last hours with Troilo must have been suggested to Boccaccio by Guido's mention of such an occurrence, since Benoit offers no such suggestion.  Guido writes,—

"Et dum sic eam consolari Troilus anhelat, Briseida inter bracchia Troili labitur saepius semiviva; quam inter dulcia basia lacrimis irrorata flebilibus ad vires sui sensus ea nocte reducere est conatus."[6]

At a later point in this study[7] I shall attempt to show that Boccaccio probably did not develop his elaborate treatment of this occurrence from Guido's scanty suggestion, but that he

[1] It should be remembered that I have no thesis to maintain as to Boccaccio's relations to Benoit and Guido, respectively, and that the later chapters of this study in no wise depend for their validity upon the results reached in the present chapter.

[2] *Filostrato*, iv, 18, 6—19, 4 ; iv, 19, 8.

[3] *Historia Troiana*, sig. i 2 recto, col. 1.  An autobiographical interpretation of the Italian passage is suggested by C. Antona-Traversi, *Il Propugnatore*, Vol. XVI, Parte II (1883), p. 267.

[4] Bartoli, pp. 65–66 ; Gorra, p. 339 ; Gaspary, Bd. II, p. 638 ; Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 446.

[5] *Filostrato*, iv, 117–126.

[6] *Historia Troiana*, sig. i 2 recto, col. 2.

[7] See below, pp. 66 ff.

transferred it almost bodily from his own *Filocolo*, where the scene is already worked out in its entirety. Though my contention prove to be valid, one might still hold, no doubt, that the *suggestion* for the transference of the scene from *Filocolo* to *Filostrato* came from Guido.

Boccaccio tells us that Griseida was delivered to the Greeks in direct exchange for Antenor,—

> " E che Griseida data dal signore
> Alli Greci era in cambio d'Antenore." [1]

Of Boccaccio's two sources, only Guido connects the heroine directly with this exchange. Benoit tells us that Antenor is given in exchange for Thoas.[2]  Calchas then comes forward and, as a separate request, begs the Greek chieftains to ask Priam to deliver up Briseida to them.[3]  Priam grants the request of the Greek chieftains, in no way connecting Briseida's release with the exchange of Antenor and Thoas.[4]  In Guido's account there is the same sequence of events,—Antenor and Thoas are exchanged, and Calchas, through the Greek chieftains, makes his own separate request,[5]—but we are explicitly told that Priam connects Briseida's release directly with the exchange of Antenor and Thoas,—

" Sed rex Priamus ad petitionem Graecorum *inter commutationem Anthenoris et regis Thoas Breseidam Graecis voluntarie relaxavit.*" [6]

It may be, then, that Guido gave Boccaccio the suggestion for dropping Thoas from the exchange and substituting Griseida, thus involving his heroine more vitally in the affairs of the Trojan war.[7]

It has been asserted [8] that while Guido speaks of two meetings of the lovers on the day before the parting,—one during the day and one at night,[9]—Boccaccio and Benoit agree in making Troilus meet his *innamorata* only once, in the evening of that day.[10]  Beyond doubt, Guido seems to indicate that the lovers were together

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[1] *Filostrato*, iv, 78, 7–8.               [2] *R. de T.*, 13079–13085.
[3] *Id.*, 13086–13098.                       [4] *Id.*, 13107–13120.
[5] *Historia Troiana*, sig. i 1 recto, col. 2.
[6] *Id.*, sig. i 1 verso, col. 1.  Cf. Hertzberg, *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, VI, 203 ; T. E. Oliver, *Jacques Milet's Drama ' La Destruction de Troye la Grant,'* Heidelberg, 1899, pp. 98–100 ; Hamilton, *Chaucer's Indebtedness*, etc., p. 104.
[7] On the related passage in Chaucer, see below, pp. 115 ff.
[8] Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 446.
[9] *Historia Troiana*, sig. i 2 recto, cols. 1–2.
[10] *Filostrato*, iv, 114 ff. ; *R. de T.*, 13295 ff.

before evening; but such a situation seems to be suggested also by Benoit, who assigns to Briseida during the day an expression of grief,[1] in the course of which she says,

> "'Ha! Troïlus, quel atendance
> Ai faite en vos, beaus douz amis!'"[2]

If these words are a direct address rather than an apostrophe,[3] we may say that Boccaccio in providing only an evening meeting of the lovers is original in departing both from Benoit and from Guido.

In this part of Boccaccio's poem, however, there are indications that the author is following Guido rather than Benoit. Guido gives us the following account of Griseida's condition after she has heard her doom:

"Briseida vero, quae Troilus non minoris amoris ardore diligere videbatur, non minus in voces querulas prodiit suos dolores, cum tota sit fluvialibus lacrimis madefacta. . . . Unguibus etiam suis sua tenerrima ora dilacerabat, et aureos crines suos a lege ligaminis absolutos a lactea sui capitis cute divellit, et dum rigidis unguibus suas maxillas exarat rubeo cruore pertinctas, lacerata lilia laceratis rosis immisceri similitudinarie videbantur.  Quae dum quaeritur de sua separatione a dilecto suo Troilo saepius intermoritur inter brac-chia eum[4] volentium sustinere dicens se malle mortem appetere quam vita potiri ex quo eam ab eo separari necesse est, a cuius vita suae vitae solacia dependebant."[5]

Guido's vivid description here may have suggested the similar passage in *Filostrato*,—

> "Erasi la dolente in sul suo letto
> Gittata stesa, piangendo sì forte,
> Che dir non si poria; e il bianco petto
> Spesso batteasi, chiamando la morte
> Che l'uccidesse, poichè 'l suo diletto
> Lasciar le convenia per dura sorte;
> E i biondi crin tirandosi rompea,
> E mille volte ognor morte chiedea.
>
> .     .     .     .     .     .     .
>
> El vide lei in sul letto avviluppata
> Ne' singhiozzi, nel pianto e ne' sospiri;

---

[1] *R. de T.*, 13277–13294.          [2] *Id.*, 13286–13287.

[3] Even if this passage is actually an apostrophe, Boccaccio might easily have understood it to be a direct address.

[4] The edition of Strassburg, 1486 (sig. i 2 recto, col. 2), reads, *eam*.

[5] *Historia Troiana*, sig. i 2 recto, cols. 1–2. Cf. Gorra, p. 340; M. Landau, *Giovanni Boccaccio, sein Leben und seine Werke*, Stuttgart, 1877, p. 91; Hamilton, p. 80.

> E 'l petto tutto e la faccia bagnata
> Di lacrime le vide, ed in disiri
> Di pianger gli occhi suoi, e scapigliata,
> Dar vero segno degli aspri martirj." [1]

Guido's mention of Briseida's fainting in the arms of the friends of Troilus [2] is perhaps paralleled by a line in Boccaccio's account of Griseida's lament in the presence of Pandaro,—

> " E questo detto, ricadde supina." [3]

In his account of Briseida's grief Benoit tells us merely,

> " Mout ot grant duel, mout ot grant ire.
> Des ieuz plore, del cuer sospire," [4]

and then gives us her lament.[5] On the whole, then, in his account of Griseida's grief on the day before the parting Boccaccio seems to owe more to Guido than to Benoit.

Boccaccio gives us the definite information that after their last night together the lovers separated just at dawn,—

> ". . . perchè s'appressava
> Già l'aurora . . ." [6]

This may possibly be a rendering of Guido's detail in connection with the same occurrence,—

> ". . . sed diei hora quasi superveniente . . .," [7]

where Benoit is, perhaps, somewhat less definite,—

> " La nuit orent ensemble esté,
> Mais mout lor a petit duré.

---

[1] *Filostrato*, iv, 87, 1–8 ; 96, 1–6.

[2] If the reading in the last quotation from Guido,—"inter bracchia *eam* volentium sustinere,"—be correct, it is, of course, not necessarily the " friends of Troilus" into whose arms Briseida falls.

[3] *Filostrato*, iv, 106, 1. This occurrence is not to be confused with Griseida's fainting during her last hours with Troilo. Cf. above, pp. 7–8, and below, pp. 66 ff.

[4] *R. de T.*, 13275–13276.

[5] *Id.*, 13277–13294. It is possible that in his description of Briseida's grief Boccaccio may be influenced by his previous descriptions of Biancofiore's grief in *Filocolo*,—

" E se son fosse che le sue dilicate mani erano con istretto legame legate, ella s' avrebbe i biondi capelli dilaniati e guasti, e 'l bel viso senza niuna pietà lacerato con crudeli unghie . . . e i biondi capelli senza alcun maestrevole legamento attorti e avviluppati al capo" (Vol. I, pp. 176, 188. Cf. I, 121. I use the edition of *Filocolo* in two volumes,—*Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Vol. VII–VIII, Firenze, Moutier, 1829). Perhaps these passages in *Filocolo*, though written before the corresponding passages in *Filostrato* (see below, pp. 26–32), were influenced by Guido. On the possibility of Boccaccio's having used Guido and Benoit in *Filocolo*, see below, pp. 62, note 3 ; 69, note 4 ; 104.

[6] *Filostrato*, iv, 167, 2–3.

[7] *Historia Troiana*, sig. i 2 recto, col. 1. Cf. Hamilton, p. 112, note 4.

> Assez fu griés li departirs,
> Geté i ot plainz e sospirs ;
> E l'endemain, quant fu cler jor,
> Fist la pucele son ator." [1]

When Pandaro brings to Troilo his first favourable report from Griseida, the two young men walk out under the lady's window in the hope of getting a glimpse of her,—

> " *Ella si stava ad una sua finestra,*
> E forse quel ch'avvenne ell' aspettava ;
> *Non si mostrò selvaggia nè alpestra*
> Verso di Troilo che la riguardava." [2]

Any one trying to advance the claims of Guido might see a suggestion for such a detail in an expression in the *Historia Troiana* where the author is denouncing faithless women in general,—

"Et si forte nullus sollicitator earum appareat ipsum ipsi dum incedunt vel *dum vagantur saepius in fenestris* vel dum resident in plateis furtivis aspectibus clandestine sibi quaerunt." [3]

Certain of Boccaccio's expressions used in connection with Calchas may have verbal relations to parallel expressions in the *Historia Troiana.*   When Boccaccio writes,

> " Quando Calcas, la cui alta *scïenza*
> Avea già meritato di sentire
> Del grande Apollo ciascuna credenza," [4]

he may have in mind Guido's statements,—

"Calcas . . . multa peritus *scientia* . . . nuncius templum ipsum intravit ut a deo Appolline scilicet responsum eliceret, quid de bello Graecorum Troianis esset revera futurum." [5]

Again, the Italian lines,

> " Da lui sperando sommo e buon *consiglio*
> In ciascheduno accidente o periglio," [6]

may suggest some verbal connection with Guido's passage,

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[1] *R. de T.*, 13323–13328.           [2] *Filostrato*, ii, 82, 1–4.

[3] *Historia Troiana*, sig. i 2 recto, col. 2—verso, col. 1.   Benoit's description of the Trojan women sitting in the windows at the time of the third battle certainly has no bearing in this case,—

> " Les dames sont par mi les estres
>   E es entailles des fenestres " (*R. de T.*, 10591–10592).

[4] *Filostrato*, i, 8, 1–3.

[5] *Historia Troiana*, sig. e 6 recto, col. 1.   *R. de T.*, 5819–5844, has the same thought, without special verbal likenesses to *Filostrato.*

[6] *Filostrato*, i, 9, 7–8.   Cf. iv, 6 7–8.

"Eris et tu valde necessarius Graecis ipsis in tuis *consiliis*, et doctrina donec ipsi praedicta victoria potiantur."[1]

One of Boccaccio's expressions used in connection with Griseida,—

> " Seco *nel cuor* ciascuna paroletta
> *Rivolvendo* di Pandaro,"[2]—

and in connection with Troilo,—

> " E giva ciascun atto rivolgendo
> Nel suo pensiero . . .,"[3]—

may be an echo of Guido's phrase concerning Briseida when she is beset by Diomede's offers of love,—

> " multa tamen in sua mente revolvit."[4]

In the foregoing examination of parallels we find indications, however faint,[5] that Boccaccio probably took from Guido some details of expression and some suggestions for incident that could not have come from Benoit. Let us now inquire into Boccaccio's borrowings from the *Roman de Troie*.

One of the most conspicuous of these borrowings,—that from Benoit's account of the *innamoramento* of Achilles,[6]—I shall consider in a later part of this study.[7]   At present we may confine our attention to Boccaccio's relation to parts of the French poem directly connected with the episode of Troilus and Briseida.

Boccaccio gives us a vivid impression of the effect of Calchas' desertion upon the Trojans,—

---

[1] *Historia Troiana*, sig. e 6 recto, col. 1.   Benoit has the same sense in *R. de T.*, 5837–5839.   Perhaps the resemblance between

> " Diliberò l'antiveduto e *saggio*" (*Filostrato*, i, 9, 2)

and

> " *Sages* estoit co seit len bien" (*R. de T.*, 5822, variant)

is too slight for special notice.

[2] *Filostrato*, ii, 68, 3–4.          [3] *Id.*, iii, 54, 1–2.

[4] *Historia*, sig. l 1 recto, col. 1.   See Hamilton, p. 85.   See also *Historia*, sig. a 7 recto, col. 2, where we are told that Medea " multa inter se cogitatione revolvit."   Perhaps the apparent link between this commonplace expression in *Filostrato* and in the *Historia* is invalidated by an expression in *Filocolo* (I, 323),—

> ". . . nella mente tornandole alcuna volta Florio."

[5] I may be permitted to say that I am entirely aware of the weakness of the case for Boccaccio's use of Guido, and that my succeeding argument in no wise depends upon Boccaccio's having used or ignored the *Historia Troiana*.   Those who wish to emphasize Boccaccio's possible indebtedness to Guido may perhaps expand my paltry evidence and find in it more significance than I can.   I shall be more inclined to agree with those who minimize this evidence.

[6] *R. de T.* (Joly), 17457–18106.

[7] See below, pp. 35 ff.

> " Fu romor grande quando fu sentito,
> Per tutta la città generalmente,
> Che Calcas s'era di quella fuggito,
> E parlato ne fu diversamente,
> Ma mal da tutti, e ch' egli avea fallito,
> E come traditor fatto reamente,
> *Nè quasi per la più gente rimase*
> *Di non andargli col fuoco alle case.*" [1]

Griseida, the beautiful,—

> " Accorta, savia, onesta e costumata
> Quanto altra che in Troia fosse nata," [2]—

is in terror at the rage of the Trojans,—

> " La qual sentendo il noioso romore
> Per la fuga del padre, assai dogliosa,
> Qual' era in tanto dubbioso furore." [3]

When she seeks Hector's protection, he, moved by her beauty, comforts her,—

> " Perchè vedendo di costei il gran pianto,
> Ch' era più bella ch' altra creatura,
> Con pio parlare la confortò alquanto,
> Dicendo : lascia con la ria ventura
> Tuo padre andar, che ci ha offeso tanto,
> E tu sicura e lieta senza noia,
> Con noi mentre t' aggrada ti sta' in Troia." [4]

According to Benoit, Calchas tells the Greeks what effect his desertion will produce at Troy,—

> " Mais une chose vos di bien :
> Blasme en avrai sor tote rien ;
> Tuit li Troïen m'en harront
> E mout par s'en merveilleront,
> Quant il orront qu'o vos serai." [5]

Guido mentions no such declaration.[6] Later in his poem Benoit gives a much more vivid account than Guido does of the anger of the Trojans toward Calchas, adding that only her personal charms saved Briseida from death,—

> " Calcas blasmerent Troïen,
> Dïent que plus est vis d'un chien :
> ' De toz hontos e de toz vis
> Est il curaille li chaitis,

---

[1] *Filostrato*, i, 10, 1–8.     [2] *Id.*, i, 11, 7–8.     [3] *Id.*, i, 12, 1–3.
[4] *Id.*, i, 13, 2–8.     [5] *R. de T.*, 5907–5911.   Cf. 13782.
[6] See *Historia*, sig. e 6 recto, col. 2—verso, col. 1.

> *Qui riche e haut ert entre nos,*
> Puis nos guerpi, s'ala a vos.'
> Li reis Prianz jure e afie,
> S'aveir le puet en sa baillie,
> Que male fin li fera traire,
> C'iert a chevaus rompre e detraire :
> 'Se por ço non que la pucele
> Est franche e proz e sage e bele,
> Por lui fust arse e desmembree.'"[1]

In the same passage of Benoit's poem may originate Troilo's bitter expressions concerning the treacherous father of his *innamorata,*—

> " O vecchio malvissuto, o vecchio insano,
> Qual fantasia ti mosse, o quale sdegno,
> A gire a' Greci essendo tu Troiano ?
> *Eri onorato in tutto il nostro regno,*
> Più di te nullo regnicolo o strano.
> O iniquo consiglio, o petto pregno
> Di tradimenti, d'inganni e di noia,
> Or t'avess' io qual io vorrei in Troia ! "[2]

According to Boccaccio, Calchas in asking the Greek chieftains to secure Griseida for him makes a considerable speech.[3]  Concerning this occasion Guido writes,

" Calcas, autem, Troianorum antistes, qui, mandantibus diis, relictis Troianis, Graecis adheserat, quandam filiam suam habebat multae pulchritudinis et morum venustate conspicuam, quae Briseida communi nomine vocabatur.  Hic Calcas pro praedicta filia sua Briseida regem Agamemnon et alios Graecorum reges sollicite deprecatur ut praedictam filiam suam a rege Priamo, si placet, exposcant, ut eam restituat patri suo."[4]

Benoit gives a similar account,—

> " Calcas li sages, li corteis,
> Ot une fille mout preisiee,
> Bele e corteise e enseigniee :
> De li esteit grant renomee,
> Briseïda ert apelee.
> Calcas ot dit Agamennon,
> As autres reis, a Telamon,
> Qu'il la demandassent Priant :

[1] *R. de T.*, 13101–13113.   Guido writes merely,—" Sed Troiani contra Calcam antistitem multum impugnant, asserentes eum esse nequissimum proditorem et imo morte dignum " (*Historia*, sig. i 1 verso, col. 1).
[2] *Filostrato*, iv, 38, 1–8.  Cf. Gaspary, *Gesch. d. Ital. Lit.*, Bd. II, p. 638 ; Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 445–446, 449.
[3] *Filostrato*, iv, 5–11.          [4] *Historia*, sig. i 1 recto, col. 2.

> ' Ne voleit pas d'ore en avant
> Qu'ele fust plus en lor comune,
> Car trop les het, ço set, Fortune ;
> Si ne vueut pas qu'o eus perisse,
> En l'ost o lui vueut que s'en isse.' " [1]

Manifestly neither of these accounts provides the material for Calchas' speech in *Filostrato*. It may appear to some that Guido's words,

". . . qui, mandantibus diis, relictis Troianis, Graecis adheserat . . .," [2]

for which Benoit has no parallel at this point, may have given Boccaccio the suggestion for that part of Calchas' speech in which the priest reminds the Greeks of his desertion from Troy and of his services to them,—

> " Signori, cominciò Calcas, i' fui
> Troian, siccome voi tutti sapete ;
> E se ben vi ricorda, i' son colui,
> Il qual primiero a quel per che ci sete
> Recai speranza, e dissivi che vui
> Al termine dovuto l'otterrete,
> Cioè vittoria della vostra impresa,
> E Troia fia per voi disfatta e accesa.
>
> L' ordine e 'l modo ancora da tenere
> In ciò sapete, ch' io v' ho dimostrato ;
>
> . . . . . . .
> A voi, com' egli appar, ne son venuto
> Per darvi in ciò e consiglio ed aiuto." [3]

However, this passage may have been suggested and the entire Italian speech inspired by a speech of Calchas recorded by Benoit in full in another place,[4] and reproduced by Guido only in a colourless summary from the mouth of Achilles.[5]  From this speech in Benoit's poem we may quote the following lines :

> " ' Ne vos en quier lonc conte faire,
> Mais ço me dist la voiz devine
> Qu'a Athenes sor la marine
> Venisse ça a vos parler,
> Por dire e por amonester
> Que ne departisseiz ja mais,
> N'as Troïens n'eüsseiz pais,

---

[1] *R. de T.*, 13086–13098.  On the possible use of 13094–13098 elsewhere in *Filostrato*, see below, pp. 20–21.
[2] Quoted above.
[3] *Filostrato*, iv, 5, 1–8 ; 6, 1–2, 7–8.
[4] *R. de T.*, 5871–5920.
[5] *Historia*, sig. e 6 recto, col. 2.

> Devant que Troie fust fondue
> E la gent ocise e vencue.[1]
> Comandé m'a qu'o vos remaigne
> Por enseignier vostre compaigne :
> O vos m' estuet a Troie aler
> Por vostre gent a dotriner.' " [2]

One circumstance in Boccaccio's account of the parting of the lovers,—

> " Si baciavan talvolta, *e le cascanti*
> *Lacrime si bevean*, senza aver cura
> Ch' amare fosser oltre lor natura," [3]—

is almost certainly due to an expression used by Benoit in his parallel account,—

> " Lor fait venir par mi la boche
> Les lermes qu'il lor chiet des ieuz." [4]

Guido has nothing similar.[5]

According to Boccaccio, Diomede alone serves as Griseida's escort to the Greek camp,—

> " Quel giorno istesso vi fu Diomede
> Per volere a' Troian dare Antenore,
> Perchè Priamo Griseïda li diede." [6]

At this point Boccaccio may follow Benoit, who may more definitely suggest that Diomedes is Briseida's particular escort,—

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[1] The French lines,

> " Devant que Troie fust fondue
> E la gent ocise e vencue," (*R. de T.*, 5895–5896)

and, more especially, the lines,

> " Quar Troie iert prise e abatue,
> E la gent destruite e vencue," (*R. de T.*, 5811–5812)

may be the source of Boccaccio's lines,

> " Conobbe e vide, dopo lunga guerra
> I Troian morti e distrutta la terra" (*Filostrato* i, 8, 7–8).

[2] *R. de T.*, 5888–5900.

[3] *Filostrato*, iv, 115, 6–8.

[4] *R. de T.*, 13306–13307. Cf. Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 446–447. Gorra (p. 339) is probably wrong in suggesting Guido as the source of the lines,

> " E forte insieme amendue si strignieno,
> Di lagrime bagnati tutti quanti,
> E volendo parlarsi non potieno,
> Sì gl' impedivan gli angosciosi pianti" (*Filostrato*, iv, 115, 1–4).

*R. de T.*, 13298–13307, certainly accounts for the Italian, as well as does the *Historia*, sig. i 2 recto, cols. 1–2.

[5] Cf. *Historia*, sig. i 2 recto, cols. 1–2.

[6] *Filostrato*, v 1, 1–3. Cf. v, 4, 2 ; v, 8, 1–2.

> " Contre li vint Diomedès,
>
> E li fiz Tydeüs l'en meine," [1]—

than does Guido, who writes,

"Et Graeci eam in sua recipiunt comitatu, inter quos dum esset Diomedes. . . . Qui cum collateralis associando Briseidam cum ea insimul equitaret, sui ardoris flammam continere non valens Briseidae revelat sui estuantis cordis amorem." [2]

Both Benoit and Guido represent Diomedes as accompanied by other Greeks, as Boccaccio does not.

In mentioning Troilo's sad return to Troy after the departure of Griseida,—

> " Troilo in Troia tristo ed angoscioso,
> Quanto neun fu mai, se ne rivenne," [3]—

Boccaccio is evidently following Benoit, who writes,

> " En lui ne ra joie ne ris :
> Mout s'en torne trisz e pensis." [4]

Guido provides no such detail. [5]

Boccaccio's account of Diomede's one long and persuasive conversation with Griseida [6] is in numerous details drawn from a similar conversation in Benoit's poem, [7] a conversation so briefly summarized by Guido [8] as to be of little use to the Italian poet. In Boccaccio's poem Diomede thus assures Griseida of the superior gentility of the Greeks, of his own high rank, and of his desire to become her loyal " ami,"—

> " E s'ella [*i. e.*, Troia] fosse pur per sempre stare,
> Sì sono il re, e' figli e gli abitanti
> Barbari e scostumati, e da apprezzare
> Poco, a rispetto de' Greci, ch' avanti
> Ad ogni altra nazion possono andare,
> D'alti costumi e d'ornati sembianti ;

---

[1] *R. de T.*, 13517, 13529.

[2] *Historia*, sig. i 2 verso, col. 1.     Savj-Lopez (*Romania*, XXVII, 446) thinks that Boccaccio is perhaps following Benoit here. Certainly Gorra (p. 340) and A. Bartoli (*I Precursori del Boccaccio*, Firenze, 1876, p. 66) cannot establish their assertions that Boccaccio at this point is indebted to Guido.

[3] *Filostrato*, v, 15, 1–2.

[4] *R. de T.*, 13527–13528.   Cf. Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 448.

[5] *Historia*, sig. i 2 verso, col. 1.        [6] *Filostrato*, vi, 12–32.

[7] *R. de T.*, 13532–13702.

[8] *Historia*, sig. l 2 verso, col. 1.   Cf. Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 447.

> E non crediate che ne' Greci amore
> Non sia, assai più alto e più perfetto
> Che tra' Troiani ; e 'l vostro gran valore,
> La gran beltà e l'angelico aspetto
> Troverà qui assai degno amadore,
> Se el vi fia di pigliarlo diletto ;
> E se non vi spiacesse, io sarei desso,
> Più volentier che re de' Greci adesso.
>
> . . . . . . .
> Se 'l padre mio Tideo fosse vissuto,
>
> . . . . . .
> Di Calidonia e d'Argo saria suto
> Re, siccom' io ancora essere intendo ;
>
> . . . . . .
> Sì ch' io non son tra' Greci di men peso." [1]

In the *Roman de Troie* Diomedes gives the heroine similar
assurances,—

> " Preiee sereiz e requise
> D'amer, ço sai, en mainte guise,
> Ci sont tuit li preisié del mont
> E li plus riche qui i sont,
> E li plus bel e li meillor,
> Qui vos requerront vostre amor.
> Mais sacheiz, bele, bien vos di,
> Se de mei faites vostre ami,
> Vos n'i avreiz se honor non.
> Preisiez deit estre e de grant non
> Qui de vostre amor est saisiz :
> Bele, s'a vos me sui ofriz,
> Ne refusez le mien homage.
> Tel cuer prenez e tel corage
> Que mei prengiez a chevalier :
> Leial ami e dreiturier
> Vos serai mais d'ore en avant
> A toz les jorz de mon vivant." [2]

Again, the Italian passage,

> " Quest' ultimo parlare a Diomede
> Fu assai caro, e parveli potere
> Isperar senza fallo ancor mercede,
> Siccom' egli ebbe poi a suo piacere ;
> E risposele : donna, io vi fo fede
> Quanto posso maggiore, che al volere
> Di voi io sono e sarò sempre presto," [3]

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[1] *Filostrato*, vi, 21, 1–6 ; 22, 1–8 ; 24, 1, 3, 4, 8.
[2] *R. de T.*, 13573–13590. Cf. 13695–13702. Cf. Savj-Lopez, *Romania*,
XXVII, 447.           [3] *Filostrato*, vi, 32, 1–7.

seems to be a rendering of the French passage,

> " Diomedès fu sage e proz : [1]
> Bien entendi as premiers moz
> Qu'el n'esteit mie trop sauvage.
> Itant li dist de son corage :
> ' Bele, ço sacheiz bien de veir
> Qu'en vos metrai mon bon espeir :
> Amerai vos d'amor veraie,
> Tant atendrai vostre manaie
> Que vos avreiz de mei merci
> E que me tendreiz por ami.
> Quant Amors vueut qu'a vos m'otrei,
> Nel contredi ne nel denei :
> A son gré e a son plaisir
> Li voudrai mais dès or servir.' " [2]

Diomede's words at the beginning of his appeal to Griseida,—

> " Giovane donna, s'io v' ho ben guardato
> Nell' angelico viso da aggradire
> Più ch'altro visto mai, quel trasformato
> Mi par veder per noioso martire," [3]—

seem to have been suggested by similar expressions in the parallel passage of the French romance,—

> ". . . jo vos vei deshaitiee,
> Pensive e dotose e iriee,
>
> . . . . .
> Qui vostre grant beauté remire,
> N'est merveille se il esprent." [4]

Part of Griseida's reply to Diomede,—

> " Che tu sia di real sangue disceso
> Cred' io assai, ed hollo bene inteso.
>
> E questo assai mi dà d'ammirazione,
> Che possi porre in una femminella,
> Come son io, di poca condizione
> L'animo tuo : a te Elena bella
> Si converria : io ho tribulazione,
> Nè son disposta a sì fatta novella ;
> Non perciò dico che io sia dolente
> D'essere amata da te certamente," [5]—

---

[1] Cf. the variant of this line,

> " Diomedès ot joie grant,"

noted by Constans, and adopted by Joly, l. 13643

[2] *R. de T.*, 13681–13694.  Cf. Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 447–448.
[3] *Filostrato*, vi, 14, 3–6.  [4] *R. de T.*, 13539–13540, 13560–13561.
[5] *Filostrato*, vi, 29, 7—30, 8.

we must certainly connect with the parallel passage in Benoit's
poem,—

> " Mais tant vos cuit de haut parage
> E pro, solonc le mien avis,
> Bien afaitié e bien apris,
> Ne vos vueil chose faire acreire
> Que mout ne fust leial e veire.
> Soz ciel n'a si riche pucele
> Ne si preisiee ne si bele,
> Por ço que rien vousist amer,
> Que pas vos deüst refuser :
> Ne jo nos refus autrement." [1]

Part of this same conversation of Diomede and Griseida in
*Filostrato* [2] may be due to passages in a conversation between
Briseida and Calchas recounted at length by Benoit, [3] and less
fully by Guido. [4] This latter conversation is omitted by Boccaccio
at the point where it would naturally have been put, [5] but some
traces of it seem to appear in the assurances regarding the
destruction of Troy that Diomede gives to Griseida, and in his
disclosing to her that Calchas' purpose in sending for her is to save
her from death,—

> " Li Troian son si può dire in prigione
> Da noi tenuti, siccome vedete,
> Che siam disposti di non mutar loco
> Senza disfarla o con ferro o con fuoco :
>
> Nè crediate ch' alcun che dentro sia
> Trovi pietà da noi in sempiterno.
>
> . . . . . . .
> E non crediate che Calcas avesse
> Con tanta istanza voi raddomandata,
> Se ciò ch' io dico non antivedesse." [6]

This part of Diomede's assurances, which has no basis in his
remarks to Briseida in the *Roman de Troie*, may have been
suggested by certain of Calchas' words to Briseida, recorded by
Benoit and Guido respectively as follows,—

> " Ensorquetot bien vei e sai
> Que morz e destruiz les verrai ;
> Si nos vient mieuz aillors guarir
> Que la dedenz o eus morir :

---

[1] *R. de T.*, 13664–13673.   [2] *Filostrato*, **vi**, 12–32.
[3] *R. de T.*, 13721–13814.
[4] *Historia*, sig. i 2 verso, col. 2—i 3 recto, col. 1.
[5] Cf. *Filostrato*, v, 14.
[6] *Filostrato*, **vi**, 15, 5—16, 2 ; **vi**, 18, 1–3.   Cf. **vi**, 15, 5—20, 8.

> Mort seront il, vencu e pris,
> Quar li deu l'ont ensi pramis.
> Ne puet mais ço longes durer.
> Ne finoë hore de penser
> Com ça vos en traisisse a mei :
> Jo n'esteie d'el en esfrei.
> Quant or vos ai, mout bien m'estait :
> N'avrai mais ire ne deshait " ; [1]

" Scio enim pro certo per infallibilium promissa deorum presentem guerram protendi non posse tempore diuturno, et quod civitas Troiae brevi tempore destruatur et ruat, destructis eius omnibus nobilibus et universis plebeis eius in ore gladii trucidatis. Quare, carissima filia, satis est melius nobis hic esse quam hostili gladio saeviente perire." [2]

Merely from the passages before us, we could hardly determine whether Boccaccio is following here the French or the Latin. However, from the fact that in so much of the remaining part of Diomede's utterances the Italian author follows Benoit, we may, perhaps, infer that when he uses Calchas' remarks to Briseida he is also following Benoit. Moreover, there may be some significance in the verbal resemblance between Griseida's words to Diomede,

> " Io amo, Diomede, *quella terra*
> *Nella qual son cresciuta ed allevata,*
> E quanto può mi grava la sua guerra,
> E volentier la vedrei liberata," [3]

and Briseida's words to Calchas in the part of the French poem that we are considering,—

> " ' Come il destruiënt voz amis
> *E la terre dont estes nez,*" [4]—

which remind us of an expression of hers in another place,—

> " ' Lasse,' fait el, ' quel destinee,
> Quant *la vile dont jo sui nee*
> M'estuet guerpir en tel maniere,' " [5]—

and of Diomedes' words to her,—

> " ' A la *gent qui vos ont norrie*
> Sai que sereiz toz jorz amie.' " [6]

To these expressions Guido has no close parallel.

[1] *R. de T.*, 13803–13814.   [2] *Historia*, sig. i 3 recto, col. 1
[3] *Filostrato*, vi, 27, 1–4.   [4] *R. de T.*, 13726–13727.
[5] *Id.*, 13277–13279.
[6] *Id.*, 13549–13550.  In connection with Griseida's remarks concerning her father's avarice (*Filostrato*, iv, 136, 1–8), it may be worth while to mention

Boccaccio tells us that in spite of her cordial reception into the Greek camp, Griseida was painfully sad during the first days of her separation from Troilo.[1] The Italian author adds that the worst of her grief was that she had no one in whom she could confide,—

> "E quel che peggio ch' altro le facea,
> Era, con cui dolersi non avea." [2]

In the absence of any similar sentiment in Guido's *Historia,* we may, perhaps, find a source for the Italian lines in the soliloquy that Benoit assigns to Briseida after she has decided to give her love to Diomedes,—

> " ' Mès *ci estoie sanz conseil,*
> *Et sanz amis et sanz feeil.*
> Si m'ot mestier tele atendance,
> Qui m'ostast d'ire et de pesance.
> Prou poïsse ci desirer,
> Et plaindre, et mei desconforter,
> Et endurer jusqu'à la mort,
> Ne me venist de la confort.' " [3]

In the Italian poem we are told that Troilo and Diomede often met in single combat,—

> " E spesse volte assieme s'avvisaro
> Con *rimproveri* cattivi e villani,
> E di *gran colpi fra lor si donaro,*
> Talvolta urtando, e talor nelle mani
> *Le spade* avendo. . . ." [4]

Guido provides only a general statement as a parallel for this passage,[5] whereas Benoit, among his vivid details, offers some verbal similarities to the Italian lines,—

> " Ala ferir Diomedes
>
> . . . . .
> Et si li dist *en reprovier :*
>
> . . . . .
> Et altretant *espées nues,*
> Qui sor hialmes furent ferues." [6]

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Guido's outbreak, in another connection (*Historia,* sig. m 4 verso, col. 1), against the avarice of priests. Probably, however, Boccaccio's stanza is directly inspired by suggestions in Briseida's remarks to her father, recounted by Benoit (*R. de T.,* 13721–13775) and by Guido (*Historia,* sig. i 2 verso, col. 2—i 3 recto, col. 1).

[1] *Filostrato,* vi, 1–7.   [2] *Id.,* vi, 3, 7–8.
[3] *R. de T.* (Joly), 20277–20284.   [4] *Filostrato,* viii, 26, 1–5.
[5] *Historia,* sig. k 6 verso, col. 2.   Cf. Landau, p. 91.
[6] *R. de T.* (Joly), 20066, 20071, 20107–20108.

> " Atant i avint Troylus
>
> Li a *merveillos colp doné*." [1]

Of Boccaccio's two sources only the *Roman de Troie* speaks explicitly of Briseida's giving up her intention of returning to the city of Troy,—

> " Anceis que veie le quart seir,
> N'avra corage ne voleir
> De retorner en la cité." [2]

The later development of the story in the *Roman de Troie* and in the *Historia Troiana* is based upon the simple fact that Breseida, while in the Greek camp, transferred her love from Troilus to Diomedes, and, except in the few lines just quoted from Benoit, we have no suggestion of her failure to return to the city, a thought which Boccaccio develops extensively and beautifully.[3] So large a part does this failure to return play in Boccaccio's poem, that one writer, referring to Benoit's lines above, asks, " Non pare probabile che da questa frase abbia il Boccaccio prese le mosse per fondare sopra un mancato ritorno lo svolgimento posteriore del suo romanzo ?" [4] No doubt this question is well justified. I believe, however, that from a subsequent part of this study it will appear that in his dwelling upon the failure of Griseida to return to Troy, Boccaccio is under the influence of his own earlier *Filocolo*, where the failure of the heroine to rejoin her lover is abundantly treated, with numerous parallels in detail to the corresponding part of *Filostrato*.[5]

According to Boccaccio, Troilo's final despair is directly induced by " uno ornato vestimento " [6] and " un fermaglio," [7] taken from Diomede by Deifebo and brought to Troy. When Troilo recognizes the " fermaglio " as a previous gift of his own to Griseida, his proof of her inconstancy is complete.[8] This circumstance, which has no basis in Guido, is due to the following lines of Benoit, recounting Briseida's giving a token to Diomedes :

> " La destre manche de son braz
> Bone et fresche de ciclaton

[1] *R. de T.* (Joly), 14411, 14414.
[2] *R. de T.*, 13859–13861. Cf. *Id.*, 13758–13761. Cf. Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 448.
[3] See *Filostrato*, iv, 131–141, 155–159; v, 24, 37 ; vi, 1–7, 27; vii, 1–106; viii, 1–7.      [4] Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 448.
[5] See below, pp. 84 ff.     [6] *Filostrato*, viii, 8, 5.
[7] *Id.*, viii, 9, 7.      [8] Cf. *Id.*, viii, 8, 5–8 ; 9, 6—10, 3.

> Li done en leu de gonfanon.
> Joie a cil qui por li se peine,
> Ja est tochié de la veine
> Dont les altres font les forfeiz
> Qu'en a sovent diz et retreiz.
> Desor puet saveir Troylus
> Que ja mar s'i atendra plus :
> Devers li est l'amors cassée,
> Qui molt fu puis conparée." [1]

Part of Boccaccio's description of Griseida,—

> " Ell' era grande, ed alla sua grandezza
> Rispondean bene i membri tutti quanti," [2]—

though a clear variation from Benoit,—

> " Briseïda fu avenant :
> Ne fu petite ne trop grant," [3]—

and from Guido,—

> " Briseida . . . fuit . . . nec longa nec brevis," [4]—

is, nevertheless, similar to part of Benoit's description of Troilus,—

> " Granz ert, mais bien li coveneit
> O la taille, que bone aveit." [5]

In connection with the grief of the Trojan nobles over the death of Hector, Boccaccio's expression,

> " L'alto dolor, da non poter mai dire," [6]

is probably a reflection of Benoit's lines,

> " Là est li dels si angoisseos,
> Si pesmes et si dolereos
> Que nel porreit riens reconter," [7]

for which Guido has no close parallel.[8]

In view of Boccaccio's use of the *Roman de Troie* in his description of the love agony of Troilo,[9] and in view of his apparent use

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[1] *R. de T.* (Joly), 15102–15112.   Cf. Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 448.
[2] *Filostrato*, i, 27, 1–2.                    [3] *R. de T.*, 5275–5276.
[4] *Historia*, sig. e 2 recto, col. 2.
[5] *R. de T.*, 5425–5426.   Guido's description of Troilus contains no close parallel,—"Troilus vero licet multum fuerit corpore magnus, magis tamen fuit corde magnanimus " (*Historia*, sig. e 2 verso, col. 1).   Cf. Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. II (1894), pp. lvi, lix ; Broatch, *Journal of Germanic Philology*, II, 16, 18, 26 ; Hamilton, p. 81.
[6] *Filostrato*, viii, 1, 3.
[7] *R. de T.* (Joly), 16305–16307.   Cf. Hamilton, p. 128, note 1.
[8] *Historia*, sig. i 6 recto, col. 1–2.
[9] Cf. below, pp. 36–39.

in *Filocolo* of Benoit's account of the love of Jason and Medea,[1] there may be some significance in the verbal resemblance between Troilo's words to Pandaro,—

> " *Amore, incontro al qual chi si difende*
> Più tosto è preso, ed adopera invano," [2]—

and Benoit's lines concerning Medea's incipient passion,—

> " Dès or la tient bien en ses laz
> *Amors, vers cui rien n'a defense*," [3]—

although the idea expressed is, of course, a commonplace.

An expression twice ascribed to Griseida in *Filostrato*,—

> " . . . perch' io veggio
> Che sempre mai *andrò di male in peggio* ;" [4]

> " *Io fuggii il male e seguitai il peggio* ;" [5]—

may reflect an expression used by Briseida in her reply to Diomedes in Benoit's poem,—

> " Ne vueil *entrer de mal en pis*." [6]

In a letter to Griseida, Troilo attaches to Calchas an adjective,—

> " . . . che 'l tegnente
> Calcas *cortese* sia . . .," [7]—

that is, perhaps, surprising in view of the young hero's words concerning Calchas in another place.[8] Boccaccio may have been influenced by Benoit, who applies to Calchas the same adjective,—

> " Calcas li sages, *li corteis*." [9]

It is sufficiently clear that some of the resemblances in detail between *Filostrato* and its sources that I have pointed out are of slight importance.[10] However, from the evidence adduced, it seems to me that, from whichever of his two sources Boccaccio

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[1] Cf. below, pp. 152 ff.
[2] *Filostrato*, ii, 7, 1–2.
[3] *R. de T.*, 1294–1295.
[4] *Filostrato*, iv, 89, 7–8.
[5] *Id.*, vi, 6, 3.
[6] *R. de T.*, 13636.
[7] *Filostrato*, vii, 56, 5–6.
[8] *Id.*, iv, 38. See above, p. 14.
[9] *R. de T.*, 13086. Guido uses no similar adjective. Cf. *Historia*, sig. i 1 recto, col. 2.
[10] I have listed all the evidence that I have found, however weak some of it may be. The rejection of the weaker part of the evidence will not, I think, affect my main conclusions concerning Boccaccio's indebtedness to the *Roman de Troie* and the *Historia Troiana* respectively. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the succeeding parts of this study in no wise depend for their validity upon the results reached in the present chapter.

may have derived the *body* of his story, he drew *details* both from Benoit and from Guido, and that in these details his borrowings from the French poem greatly outweigh in extent and in importance those from the Latin *Historia*. This result, reached from an examination of details, is precisely in accord with antecedent probability. Boccaccio could hardly have avoided knowing two so famous works as the *Roman de Troie* and the *Historia Troiana*. That he should take more details from Benoit than from Guido was inevitable, since Benoit's treatment of the episode of Troilus and Briseida is far more extensive and attractive than Guido's. That Boccaccio used Guido's paltry account at all might be wondered at except for Boccaccio's probable deference as an antiquarian to Guido's ill-earned fame as a Latin " historian " of the Trojan war, and except for the fact that Guido added a few slight details to his French source, which, in the main, he so conspicuously abridged.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE RELATIONS OF *FILOSTRATO* TO *FILOCOLO*.

ALTHOUGH from the preceding chapter it appears that Boccaccio probably used both the *Roman de Troie* and the *Historia Troiana*, a mere glance reveals the fact that neither of these works is a complete source for the long and elaborate story of Troilo and Griseida that we find in *Filostrato*. For example, since Benoit and Guido give no hint of a love affair between Troilus and Briseida before their account of the grief of the lovers on the day before their separation,[1] it is clear that Boccaccio must have had other resources when he was composing the first three Parts of his poem.[2] Moreover, concerning the occurrences in the affairs of both lovers after the separation, the French poem and the Latin history give only scattered and vague suggestions. I have already mentioned the fact that an incomplete source for the first three parts of *Filostrato* has been found in Benoit's account of the love of Achilles for Polyxena, a consideration to which I shall recur.[3] This source, however, combined with all the other sources hitherto

[1] *Roman de Troie*, 13261 ff.    *Historia Troiana*, sig. i 2 recto, col. 1.
[2] Cf. V. Crescini, *Contributo agli Studi sul Boccaccio*, Torino, 1887, p. 195.
[3] See above, p. 12, and see below, pp. 35 ff.

pointed out,[1] still fails to account for a very large part of the
Italian poem. In some measure to supply this deficiency, I wish
to introduce as a possible source of *Filostrato* a document that up
to this time can scarcely be said to have been mentioned from
this point of view,[2]—I mean Boccaccio's own *Filocolo*,[3] a highly
elaborate version of the familiar story of Floire and Blanchefleur.
Since the demonstration of the transference of materials from
*Filocolo* to *Filostrato* will depend upon the chronological priority
of the former, we must at the outset examine the chronological
relations of these two works.

For determining the relative chronology of *Filocolo* and *Filo-
strato* we have two chief criteria, both of which rest ultimately
upon internal evidence. In the first place, we can draw inferences
from the relative maturity of the two works,—their relative
artistic merits and the relative stages of literary craftsmanship
revealed in them. The results reached by the use of this criterion
alone have invariably pointed to the chronological priority of
*Filocolo*.[4] No one has ever seriously maintained that the diffuse,

[1] On Boccaccio's use in *Filostrato*, v, 62–66, of a canzone of Cino da
Pistoia, see Kissner, p. 39. An article by G. Volpi, *Una Canzone di Cino da
Pistoia nel "Filostrato" del Boccaccio*, in *Bullettino Storico Pistoiese*, I, 3, is
not accessible to me.

[2] The general similarity between the temple scene at the beginning of *Filo-
colo*, I, 4–6, and that in *Filostrato*, i, 18–30, has, of course, been frequently
mentioned. Cf. Crescini, pp. 151, 191 ; E. Rossi, *Dalla Mente e dal Cuore
di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Bologna, 1900, p. 92, note 1 ; A. della Torre, *La
Giovinezza di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Citta di Castello, 1905, p. 174, note 1.
Crescini suggested other resemblances between *Filocolo* and *Filostrato* when
he wrote (p. 204, note 1), " Può ancora venir notato che talvolta il *Filocolo*
fa ricordare qualcuna delle migliori fra le opere giovanili del Boccaccio. Si
confronti infatti il luogo, ove si espone quali fossero la vita e i pensieri di
Florio e di Biancifiore lontani l'uno all' altra (II, 120–125), con passi corri-
spondenti del *Filostrato* (Dedicat., p. 11, ed. Corazzini ; del poema, lib. V,
51–55, 58, 67, 70 ; VI, 2–4)." Later in the same note Crescini draws a
parallel between *Filocolo*, II, 113–116, and *Filostrato*, iv, 117–126. The
passage in *Filostrato* resembles much more closely *Filocolo*, I, 114–115, as
we shall see below, pp. 66 ff.

[3] On this spelling of the name, see B. Sorio, *Atti dell' I. R. Instituto
Veneto di Scienza, Lettere ed Arti*, Serie Terza, vol. 7 (1861–2), 604–5 ;
vol. 10, Parte I (1864–5), 665 ; A. Gaspary, *Zeitschrift f. Rom. Philologie*,
III, 395–6 ; V. Crescini, *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore*, Vol. I, Bologna,
1889, pp. 355–366 ; P. Rajna, *Romania*, XXXI, 33, note 4 ; F. Novati,
*Giornale di Filologia Romanza*, III, 56, note 2 ; G. Koerting, *Boccaccio's
Leben und Werke*, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 137, note 1, 463, note 1, 476, note 1 ;
E. Hausknecht, *Floris and Blauncheflur*, Berlin, 1885, p. 25, note 1.

[4] See G. B. Baldelli, *Vita di Giovanni Boccacci*, Firenze, 1806, pp. 373–4,
376 ; M. Landau, *Giovanni Boccaccio, sein Leben und seine Werke*, Stutt-
gart, 1877, p. 43 ; *Id.*, translated by C. Antona-Traversi, Vol. I, Napoli, 1881,
p. 157 ; B. Zumbini, *Nuova Antologia*, Serie II[a], XVIII, 672 ; E. Gorra,
*Testi Inediti di Storia Troiana*, Torino, 1887, pp. 354–5.

rhetorical, and crudely-constructed *Filocolo* was, as a whole, written after the production of the more finished, sustained, and artistically rounded *Filostrato*.[1]

It has been pointed out, however, that all parts of *Filocolo* do not represent the same stage of literary skill,—that some parts are less crude and dull than others.[2] The episode of the Court of Love[3] has been praised for the skilful arrangement of material shown and for its literary charm.[4] The account of the attempted seduction of Florio by Edea and Calmena[5] is certainly an entirely successful piece of writing of the sensual type.[6] The episode of Florio's jealousy of Fileno[7] has also been cited as showing some signs of literary mastery,[8] but in this case most critics will probably agree that the good passages are entirely overshadowed by the clumsy elaboration of the episode as a whole.[9] The few literary excellences of *Filocolo* would by themselves probably never convince any unbiased critic that this lengthy romance was composed after *Filostrato*.

In the case of Boccaccio's early works, however, another criterion is available besides that of mere style. An eminent authority in the use of this criterion states the case as follows:

"Un criterio sicuro per la determinazione dell' ordine, in cui, cronologicamente, si sien seguite le opere minori del nostro [*i. e.*, Boccaccio], si deduce dal rapporto ch' esse presentino colle fasi della storia dell' amor di lui per Fiammetta."[10]

"Fiammetta" is Maria d'Aquino, natural daughter of King Robert of Naples, and it is Boccaccio's extended love affair with her that is to guide us in determining the chronology of his early

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[1] For judgments as to the literary merits of these two works, see B. Zumbini, *Nuova Antologia*, Serie II[a], XIX, 59; XVIII, 672-3; A. C. Casetti, *Nuova Antologia*, XXVIII (1875), 577; F. De Sanctis, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Vol. 1, Napoli, 1879, pp. 304-6; Koerting, pp. 500-504, 579-584; Gaspary, *Geschichte der Italienischen Literatur*, Bd. II, Berlin, 1888, pp. 6, 12; A. Gaspary, *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, XIV, 439-440; F. Novati, *Giornale di Filologia Romanza*, III, 56-67; Landau, pp. 43, 53; G. Volpi, *Il Trecento*, Milano, n.d., pp. 92-3.

[2] Crescini: *Contributo*, etc., pp. 201-203.

[3] *Filocolo*, II, 27-118.

[4] See Crescini, pp. 201-202.

[5] *Filocolo*, I, 229-238.

[6] Cf. Crescini, p. 202.

[7] *Filocolo*, I, 247-303.

[8] Cf. Crescini, p. 203.

[9] If this episode is an innovation of Boccaccio's (cf. Crescini, p. 203, and see below, pp. 102-103), he deserves praise for contributing to the story an interesting complication. The praise, however, should end there, for the episode as a whole is made absurdly long and dull by mythological padding.

[10] Crescini, p. 199.

works.[1]   In more than one place Boccaccio explicitly tells us that certain of his literary productions are the direct result of his love for "Fiammetta," and he sometimes gives us also the key by which we can extract biography from apparent fiction.[2]   Since Boccaccio himself tells us that *Filocolo* and *Filostrato* have immediate relations to particular stages in his love affair,[3] we ought to be able from internal evidence to assign each of these works to its proper place in the development of the love affair, and hence to determine which was written first.

What stage or stages of the love affair does *Filocolo* reflect? The author himself plainly tells us that the work was begun directly after his *innamoramento* with Maria.[4]   That the writing of *Filocolo* continued into the period of Boccaccio's possession of his lady we infer from what may be a veiled account of his first nocturnal meeting with her.[5]   Moreover, from what appear to be allusions to the infidelity of Maria,[6] we may infer that *Filocolo* was not finished until the love affair was concluded. *Filocolo*, then, was in process of composition during a term of years[7] covering every stage of Boccaccio's love affair with Maria d'Aquino.

When we attempt to assign *Filostrato* to its proper place in the love experiences of the author, we find two chief reasons for believing that it was written during the period before the consummation of Boccaccio's love.   In the first place, the author tells us plainly in the Proemio to *Filostrato* that he writes to console himself during the absence of his lady,—an absence that occurs,

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[1] On Maria d'Aquino and her relations to Boccaccio, see A. C. Casetti, *Il Boccaccio a Napoli, Nuova Antologia*, XXVIII (1875), 568–577 ; G. B. Baldelli, *op. cit.*, Illustrazione V, §§ 11 and 12 ; C. Antona-Traversi, *Della Realtà dell' Amore di Messer G. Boccacci, Il Propugnatore*, XVI, Parte IIᵃ, 57–92, 240–280, 387–417 ; XVII, Parte Iᵃ, pp. 59–90 ; Crescini, pp. 50–255 ; Rossi, pp. 40–143 ; R. Renier, *La Vita Nuova e La Fiammetta*, Torino e Roma, 1879, pp. 217–341 ; A. della Torre, pp. 31–101, 168–302 ; G. Koerting, *Zeitschrift f. Rom. Philol.*, V, 222–232.

[2] See, for example, *Filocolo*, I, 6–8 ; *Filostrato*, Proemio, pp. 1–10 ; *Teseide, Lettera alla Fiammetta* (*Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, vol. IX. Firenze, Moutier, 1831), pp. 1–7.

[3] See *Filostrato*, Proemio, pp. 1–10 ; *Filocolo*, I, 4–8.   For other possible autobiographical passages in *Filocolo*, see Crescini, pp. 45–85.

[4] Cf. *Filocolo*, I, 4–9 ; Crescini, p. 70.

[5] Cf. *Filocolo*, II, 165–183 ; Crescini, pp. 80–82.   On this passage in *Filocolo*, see below, pp. 142 ff.

[6] *Filocolo*, II, 239–253,—the story of Idalagos.   On this story, see Crescini, pp. 44–65, 82 ; *Zeitschrift f. Rom. Philol.*, IX, 437–479 ; X, 1–21. Cf. *Filocolo*, II, 274–5, and Crescini, p. 82.

[7] At the end of *Filocolo*, Boccaccio addresses his work as follows, "O piccolo mio libretto, a *me più anni stato graziosa fatica*" (*Filocolo*, II, 376).

he seems to say, before he has had entire possession of her.[1] Another reason for assigning the writing of *Filostrato* to the period before the consummation of Boccaccio's love is found within the poem itself. The account of the first nocturnal meeting of Troilo and Griseida[2] differs essentially from a sufficiently constant account of a similar meeting in other works of Boccaccio,— *Filocolo*,[3] *Ameto*,[4] *Fiammetta*,[5] and *Amorosa Visione*.[6] The recurrence of this scene in these four works, and certain constant repetitions of detail, lead us to infer that the scene thus repeated represents a bit of the biography of Boccaccio.[7] From the difference between the account in *Filostrato* and the other accounts, we may infer that when *Filostrato* was written, the event recounted in the other four works had not occurred,—an inference for which we have already found justification in the author's own confessions in the Proemio to *Filostrato*.[8] Although we might expect *Filostrato*, like *Filocolo*, to reflect more than one stage in Boccaccio's experience, nothing in the poem that can be cited as autobiographical points to any other stage than that suggested by the Proemio. Moreover, the Proemio and the style of the work itself seem to indicate that the poem was begun and completed within a comparatively short period of time.[9]

From the interpretation given above of possible autobiographical elements in these two works of Boccaccio, it appears that *Filostrato*, though begun after *Filocolo* had been undertaken, was completed first. It would appear that *Filostrato* was written rapidly, perhaps within a period of a few months, during Maria's absence from Naples; while *Filocolo*, begun at the immediate instigation of Maria at the time of the *innamoramento*, was apparently written slowly during a period of several years.

Although such a statement of the relative chronology of *Filocolo* and *Filostrato* is in itself a sufficient basis for our succeeding

[1] *Filostrato*, Proemio, pp. 1–10. Cf. Crescini, pp. 186–190 ; Crescini in *Kritischer Jahresbericht der Romanischen Philologie* (Vollmöller), III Bd., 4 Heft, pp. 385–388.

[2] *Filostrato*, iii, 24–42.     [3] *Filocolo*, II, 174–183. Cf. II, 262.

[4] *Ameto* (ed. Sonzogno), pp. 224–227.

[5] *Fiammetta* (ed. Sonzogno), pp. 38–9, 67.

[6] *Amorosa Visione* (*Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Vol. XIV, Firenze, Moutier, 1833), cap. 49.

[7] Cf. Crescini, pp. 80–82. For a full consideration of this nocturnal meeting, see below, pp. 142 ff.

[8] Cf. Crescini, pp. 194–197 ; Crescini, in *Kritischer Jahresbericht* (Vollmöller), III Bd., 4 Heft, pp. 386–7.

[9] See Crescini, pp. 199, 208 ; Gaspary, *Gesch. d. Ital. Lit.*, II, 8.

literary investigation, certain possibilities as to absolute chronology can be added. In his account of his *innamoramento*, Boccaccio gives us professedly accurate astronomical data which allow a calculation of the exact date of this occurrence.[1] The latest published study of this point has arrived at Holy Saturday, March 30, 1331, as the date of the *innamoramento*.[2] By a careful revision of this calculation, a recent investigator arrives at Holy Saturday, March 30, 1336, as the more probable date.[3] Since Boccaccio tells us that he undertook *Filocolo* at the request of "Fiammetta," made at the time of the *innamoramento*,[4] we may infer that the work was begun soon after March 30, 1336. We can perhaps approximate also the date of the completion of *Filocolo*, for if the episode of the founding of Calocipe[5] be a veiled account of the author's return from Naples to Tuscany,[6] we can be reasonably sure that the work was not finished until after Boccaccio's return to Florence, an event that probably occurred in the period 1339–1341.[7] By a reasonable conjecture, the publication of *Filocolo* has been assigned to the year 1342.[8]

We can also attach a conjectural date to *Filostrato*. From a letter of Boccaccio to Carlo, Duke of Durazzo, dated April 3, 1339, we may infer that the love affair with Maria was over at that time.[9] Since *Filostrato*, as we have seen, probably represents a stage of Boccaccio's experience not only before his betrayal by Maria, but even before his possession of her, the poem was probably written a considerable time before April 3, 1339.[10] In

[1] *Filocolo*, I, 4–5.  [2] A. della Torre, pp. 55, 100.
[3] I make this statement with the kind permission of Mr. E. H. Wilkins, who made the revision referred to, and who has generously communicated to me his results, which are not yet published. This change in the date of the *innamoramento* in no wise affects the results of my succeeding study. Students of Boccaccio will wonder how Professor A. S. Cook (*Publications of the Modern Language Assoc.*, XXII, 536) arrived at the same date for the *innamoramento*, March 30, 1336, for Professor Cook gives no evidence and cites no authority. Professor Cook's article reached me only after my study was in proof.  [4] Cf. *Filocolo*, I, 6–8.
[5] *Id.*, II, 276–303.  [6] Cf. Crescini, pp. 83–85.
[7] Cf. Crescini, pp. 86–92, 155 ; A. della Torre, pp. 345–6 ; Rossi, p. 44 ; Casetti, *Nuova Antologia*, XXVIII (1875), 586 ; C. Antona-Traversi, *Studi di Filologia Romanza*, I, 444.
[8] V. Crescini, *Il Cantare*, etc., pp. 55–56. Cf. Crescini, *Contributo*, etc., p. 104, note 3.
[9] Cf. A. della Torre, pp. 203, 205–6 ; Crescini, *Contributo*, etc., p. 150, note. For the text of the letter, see G. Traversari, *Le Lettere Autografe di Giovanni Boccaccio del codice Laurenziano XXIX*, 8, Castelfiorentino, 1905, pp. 53–55.
[10] Perhaps in the summer of 1338. Cf. Rossi, pp. 65–66, 91 ; Gaspary, *Gesch. d. Ital. Lit.*, II, 12.

summary we may say, then, that *Filocolo* was probably begun soon after March 30, 1336, and was probably completed in 1339, or later.   *Filostrato* was probably written well before April 3, 1339.

If it be true that *Filostrato* was written during a pause in the writing of *Filocolo*,[1] and after a considerable part of *Filocolo* had been composed,[2] we need not be surprised to find in *Filostrato* echoes of the earlier parts of *Filocolo*.   Indeed, under such circumstances it would be unreasonable to expect a writer to avoid such repetitions entirely.   Moreover, when we remember that the immediate sources of *Filostrato* present only episodic bits of a story of Troilus and Briseida, we need not be surprised if we find that Boccaccio drew from his earlier love story, *Filocolo*, details with which to fill out the hints of Benoit and Guido into the rounded story of Troilo and Griseida that we read in *Filostrato*. The possibility that *Filocolo* may supply some of the deficiencies of the direct sources of *Filostrato* will appear more clearly when we have before us the general contents of the earlier work.

Although *Filocolo* is the longest and the most elaborate of the mediæval versions of the story of Floire and Blanchefleur,[3] nevertheless, beneath all his elaboration [4] Boccaccio has preserved rather faithfully the traditional story, as will be shown from the following brief outline of *Filocolo*.[5]

After an account of his *innamoramento* [6] and of his receiving from his lady the commission to write the story of Florio and

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[1] In the autobiographical interpretation of parts of *Filocolo* and of *Filostrato* and in the chronological deductions attempted above I am merely following what is believed to be the best and most recent scholarship on these points. In this part of my study I am deeply indebted to Mr. E. H. Wilkins for guidance and correction.   If any one choose to reject what may appear (especially to one who has not examined all the evidence) a rather tenuous allegorical argument, he may do so at his own risk, without affecting my succeeding investigations.   For if the autobiographical criterion had never been discovered and we had been left with only the works themselves and the scanty external evidence, the chronological priority of *Filocolo* would probably never have been disputed.

[2] We are certainly justified in inferring that Boccaccio made considerable progress in the composition of *Filocolo* between March 30, 1336, and the time of the writing of *Filostrato*, presumably in 1337 or 1338.

[3] For information concerning the mediaeval versions of this story and concerning the relation of *Filocolo* to the cycle, see Appendix B.

[4] As to the nature of this elaboration, see Zumbini, *Nuova Antologia*, Serie II[a], XVIII, 673–700.

[5] For a more extended outline of *Filocolo*, see Koerting, pp. 464–494.

[6] Concerning this *innamoramento*, see above, pp. 29–31, and below, pp. 40–42.

Biancofiore, and after a brief review of the history of the world from the fall of the angels to the establishment of Christianity, Boccaccio takes up the well-known romance.

Lelio, a Roman nobleman, and his wife, Giulia, pray that a son may be given them. The favourable answer to their prayer is a vision, as the result of which the prospective parents set out with a company to the shrine of the "glorioso santo" in Galizia. Through the machinations of Pluto, King Felice of Spain attacks the Roman company as enemies and kills Lelio. King Felice and the Queen receive Giulia kindly, and soon afterward the Queen bears a son and Giulia a daughter on the same day, Giulia dying in child-birth.

The Queen adopts Giulia's daughter, who is named Biancofiore, and makes her the playmate of her own son, who is called Florio. Glorizia, the former maid of Giulia, is retained as Biancofiore's nurse, and the two children are kept at court at Marmorina and taught together by the tutors, Ascalione and Rapheo.

In the course of time, Cupid visits the two children and inspires them with mutual love. Hearing of the rising love of Florio for Biancofiore, and objecting to his son's marrying a maiden whose antecedents are so obscure, King Felice adopts the advice of the Queen that he send Florio to Duke Feramonte, at Montorio, in the hope that in the gay society of his uncle the young prince may forget his unworthy *innamorata*.

After a painful parting from Biancofiore, who stays behind at Marmorina, Florio is magnificently received by Duke Feramonte, who makes every effort by elaborate entertainments to drive all thoughts of Biancofiore from Florio's mind. Such attempts, how- ever, are vain, for Florio constantly sighs for Biancofiore, as she does for him. Meanwhile, King Felice arranges that at his birth- day banquet Biancofiore shall unwittingly serve to the guests a poisoned peacock, for which act she is promptly condemned to be burned. Venus in a vision warns Florio of Biancofiore's danger, and, assisted by Mars and accompanied by Ascalione, he appears in disguise on the day of the execution and rescues his *innamorata*, returning immediately to Montorio without disclosing his identity.

After Duke Feramonte and Ascalione have vainly tried new means for seducing Florio from thoughts of Biancofiore, Fileno comes from Marmorina with a veil, which he says Biancofiore has given him as a pledge of her love. After much complaining and after having a vision that should have assured him of Biancofiore's fidelity in spite of Fileno's pretensions, Florio writes a jealous and upbraiding letter to Biancofiore, to which she replies, explaining that she gave the favour to Fileno under compulsion, and assur- ing Florio of her fidelity. Diana, however, visits the house of Gelosia and sends this monster to inspire Florio with a new fit of jealousy. In a rage Florio determines to kill Fileno, who, warned by a vision, flees.

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Meanwhile, warned by Diana that Florio is wasting away for love of Biancofiore, King Felice delivers the maiden to some merchants, who after various journeyings deliver her to the Ammiraglio, who confines her, with her maid, Glorizia, in a wonderful tower at Alexandria. After spreading the report that Biancofiore is dead, and after constructing a tomb for her, King Felice allows Florio to return to Marmorina. When the despairing young lover is about to kill himself at the false tomb, the Queen reveals to him the truth, and he sets off in pursuit of his beloved. After many vicissitudes, he arrives at Alexandria, where he manages to be conveyed into the tower in a basket of flowers, and with the help of Glorizia rejoins Biancofiore.[1] When the Ammiraglio discovers the lovers together, he condemns them to the flames, but Duke Feramonte and Ascalione arrive in time to rescue them. It soon appears that the Ammiraglio is Florio's uncle, and Florio and Biancofiore are allowed to marry.

After much wandering and after a sufficient number of adventures, during which the noble birth of Biancofiore is revealed, the young couple return to Spain, where after the death of King Felice they reign in prosperity.


Even from the foregoing brief outline it can be seen that the early part of *Filocolo* in its story of the love of Florio and Biancofiore and of their separation, brought about by Florio's banishment to a town near by, presents a general parallel to the account in *Filostrato* of the love of Troilo and Griseida and of their separation through Griseida's being sent to the Greek camp. Given two general parallel situations of this sort in two works written by the same author in close chronological proximity, it would be surprising if a considerable number of particulars in the earlier work did not appear in the later, especially when the sources of the later work are meagre. A statement of the extent and significance of these repetitions is our immediate task.

However, since, as we have seen, probably not all of *Filocolo* had been written at the time when *Filostrato* was being composed, in the case of every part of *Filocolo* which appears to have been shifted into *Filostrato* it will be necessary to make clear the chronological priority of the passage from *Filocolo*. This task will be easier from time to time if certain preliminary considerations are kept in mind. In the first place, I repeat that, as a whole, *Filocolo* is unmistakably less mature than *Filostrato*.[2] In the

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[1] For a detailed study of this episode, see below, pp. 142 ff.

[2] See above, pp. 27–28.

second place, we may note that the parts of *Filocolo* that I believe
to have influenced *Filostrato* are in the earlier part of the romance.
There is no immediate proof that all of the earlier parts of *Filocolo*
were written before *Filostrato*, or that, after writing *Filostrato*,
Boccaccio made no changes in the earlier part of *Filocolo*.[1] We
can say only that the earlier parts of *Filocolo* as a whole were
probably written before *Filostrato*, a probability that is greatly
strengthened by the stylistic inferiority of those parts to *Filostrato*
as a whole. In the third place, it is to be remembered that while
most of the details that I believe to have been transferred from
*Filocolo* to *Filostrato* could not have been suggested by the
immediate source of *Filostrato*, a good proportion of them have
a firm basis in the sources of *Filocolo*.[2] In general, it is certainly
unlikely that, in writing *Filostrato*, Boccaccio invented details and
episodes for which his sources made no suggestion and later
transferred these invented episodes into *Filocolo*, in the sources of
which these very episodes were already suggested. Nor will the
style of the two works easily admit the argument that when his
immediate sources failed him in writing *Filostrato*, Boccaccio drew
from the sources of *Filocolo* suggestions for episodes which he
first wrote up in *Filostrato* and later transferred into *Filocolo*.
If such an argument were possible, I should be glad to use it to
my own ends, for my main task at present is to show that the
story of Troilo and Griseida as we have it in the Italian poem
contains elements previously embodied in the story of Florio and
Biancofiore. If it could be proved that a few or many of these
elements were taken into *Filostrato*, not from *Filocolo* but from
the *sources* of *Filocolo*, my chief contention would not be in-
validated.[3] Finally, it should be borne in mind that for
Boccaccio to take crude prose materials from *Filocolo* and round
them into finished stanzas in *Filostrato* is a more intelligible process
than the reverse would be. With these preliminary considerations
in mind, let us examine the similarities in content of the two
Italian works.

We must first consider certain parts of *Filostrato* that may show
the influence not only of *Filocolo* but also of other works not
written by Boccaccio. The first such passage in the Italian poem

[1] For a possible example of such revision, see below, p. 103.
[2] On the sources of *Filocolo*, see Appendix B.
[3] For one detail in *Filostrato* which may be due to the source of *Filocolo*
rather than to *Filocolo* itself, see below, p. 80.

is that recounting the *innamoramento* of Troilo and Griseida.[1] The account may be outlined as follows :

Knights and ladies gladly come to the spring feast which the Trojan elders celebrate in honour of the Palladium. The young widow, Griseida, excelling all others in beauty, comes with the rest and stands near the door, clothed in black, except for her white veil. Troilo with his companions passes flippantly along through the temple, praising one lady, disparaging another, and making banter of any youth whose look betrays the effects of love. The young prince thanks Jupiter that he, after past unhappy experiences, is now safe from the fickleness of women and from the pains of love. Nevertheless when his eyes fall upon the " angelico viso " of Griseida, Love instantly smites him, and upon this maiden he fastens his amorous gaze during the rest of the service. At the conclusion of the feast he leaves the temple in sadness, with difficulty concealing the pangs of his new love.

A possible source or model for this episode in *Filostrato* has been pointed out in the *Roman de Troie,* where the *innamoramento* of Achilles is recounted as occurring under circumstances similar to those in the Italian passage just outlined.[2] The French account may be outlined as follows :

On the anniversary of Hector's death, knights, ladies, and citizens gather in their best array at the tomb of Hector in the temple of Apollo,[3] to perform the appropriate services, to enjoy the games, and to see the crowd. Among the mourners is the beautiful Polyxena, together with Hecuba and Helen. Under a truce, many Greeks come to the celebration merely to look on, among them Achilles, who is soon to be struck by Love, for when he looks into Polyxena's face he succumbs immediately and stands rooted to the spot as long as she remains before him. When Polyxena leaves the temple, Achilles carries a heavy heart back to the Greek camp.

It cannot be denied that in general tone and circumstances these two accounts are similar. The similarities in detail may be enumerated as follows :

1. Both episodes occur in a temple at a yearly celebration.[4]

2. In the two episodes the people who come to the festival are similarly described,—

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[1] *Filostrato,* i, 17–31.

[2] *R. de T.* (Joly), 17457–17584.    See Savj-Lopez, *Romania,* XXVII, 450–453.    There are no indications that Boccaccio used Guido's account of this *innamoramento* (*Historia Troiana,* sig. k 2 verso, col. 1—k 3 recto, col. 2).

[3] For the location of the tomb, see *R. de T.* (Joly), 22045–22049.

[4] Cf. *R. de T.* (Joly), 17460 ; *Filostrato,* i, 18, 1–6.

> " Alla qual festa e donne e cavalieri
> Fur parimente, e tutti volentieri." [1]

> " N'i ot chevalier ne borgeis
> Qui icel jor ne festivast.
>
> .    .    .    .    .
>
> Lo jor le virent bel et freis
> Dames, chevaliers et borgeis." [2]

3. The critical, external attitude of Troilo toward the service he is attending and toward the ladies he sees is definitely suggested by the external attitude of Achilles and the other Greeks, who come as strangers to a Trojan festival.   Troilo's attitude is shown in the lines,—

> " Ed ora questa ed or quella a lodare
> Incominciava, e tali riprendendo.
>
> .    .    .    .    .
>
> Or *questa donna or quella rimirando*." [3]

Achilles and the other Greeks come merely to look on,—

> " I venoient por esgarder
> L'anniversaire celebrer," [4]—

and to see the maidens,—

> " *Pour les puceles remirer*." [5]

4. The lovers, Troilo and Achilles, are similarly smitten by Love,—

> " Senza pensare in che il ciel s' affretti
> Di recar lui, il quale amor trafisse
> Più ch' alcun altro, pria del tempio uscisse
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .
>
> Il qual più ch' altro degno in sè gli pare
> Di molta lode, e seco avea diletto
> Sommo tra uomo e uom di mirar fiso
> Gli occhi lucenti e l' angelico viso.
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .
>
> Nè rammentava ancora dell' oltraggio
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .
>
> Nè dello strale, il quale al cuor gli corse,
> Finchè nol punse daddover s' accorse." [6]

[1] *Filostrato*, i, 18, 7–8.    [2] *R. de T.* (Joly), 17468–9, 17473–4.
[3] *Filostrato*, i, 20, 5–6 ; i, 26, 3.
[4] *R. de T.* (Joly), 17499–500.    [5] *Id.*, 17493.
[6] *Filostrato*, i, 25  6–8 ; i, 28, 5–8 ; i, 29, 5, 7–8.

> " Mès mielz l'en venist consirer,
>   Mar i porta onques ses piez ;
>   Car ainz qu'il en seit repeiriez
>   Ne de la feste retornez,
>   Se sera si mal atornez,
>   Sa mort metra dedanz son sain.
>   Véue i a Polixenain
>   Apertement enmi la chière.
>   C'est l'acheson et la manière
>   Par qui sera getez de vie
>   Et l'ame de son cors partie.
>
>     .      .      .      .      .
>
>   Senpres li esprent si le cuer
>   Ne se méust à negun fuer,
>   Tant com il voier la péust,
>   Por rien que nus dire séust." [1]

5. Both Troilo and Achilles stand rapt with the new vision as long as the service lasts,—

> "... e mirò tanto
>
>     .      .      .      .      .      .
>
>   Quanto duraro a Pallade gli onori." [2]

> " Onques ne remua ses piez,
>   Tant com ele fu en la place." [3]

6. Troilo, like Achilles, leaves the scene of the *innamoramento* with a heavy heart,—

> "... ma n' usci *pensoso*." [4]

> "... adonc retorne,
>   Chière fet et *pensive* et morne." [5]

7. The irresistible force of love is commented on in similar terms in the two accounts,—

> " Non risparmiarono il sangue reale,
>   Nè d' animo virtù ovver grandezza,
>   Nè curaron di forza corporale
>   Che in Troilo fosse, o di prodezza,
>   L' ardenti fiamme amorose . . ." [6]

> " Poi li valdra mès sis escuz,
>   Et sis haubers mailliez menuz ;
>   Ja s'espée trenchant d'acier

1 *R. de T.* (Joly), 17504–17514, 17579–17582.
2 *Filostrato*, i, 30, 5, 7.          3 *R. de T.* (Joly), 17572–3.
4 *Filostrato*, i, 31, 2.              5 *R. de T.* (Joly), 17583–4.
6 *Filostrato*, i, 40, 1–5.    Cf. Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 452.

> Ne li aura ici mestier.
> Force, vertuz, ne hardement
> Ne li valt contre Amor naient." [1]

8. There may be significance in the fact that Boccaccio mentions Polyxena and Helen in connection with his heroine,—

> " E 'l suo valor e 'l viso dilicato
> Di lei, diceva, avanza Polissena
> D' ogni bellezza, e similmente Elena," [2]—

for the only three ladies whom Benoit mentions in this episode are,

> " Ecuba et Polixenain
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .
>
> Ensemble o eles dame Heleine." [3]

The similarities between the two episodes do not end here, as we find when we examine the occurrences following the temple scene itself.

1. On leaving the temple, each lover languishes in his own room,—

> " E partitosi ognun, tutto soletto
> In camera n' andò, dove a sedere
> Si pose, sospirando, appiè del letto." [4]

> " Molt malades, molt dehetiez
> S'est en son paveillon cochiez.
> N'a si privé qui i remaigne." [5]

2. The two heroes can think only of the great event of the morning.[6]

3. Both feel a distaste for fighting.[7]

4. Both succumb to the usual love-sickness.[8]

5. Each lover thinks his case hopeless.[9]

6. Each lover has recourse to a trusted friend, who acts as intermediary between the lover and his *innamorata*.[10]

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[1] *R. de T.* (Joly), 17549–17554.      [2] *Filostrato*, i, 42, 6–8.
[3] *R. de T.* (Joly), 17481, 17484.      [4] *Filostrato*, i, 33, 1–3.
[5] *R. de T.* (Joly), 17593–5.
[6] *Filostrato*, i, 33, 4–7 ; i, 42, 5 ; *R. de T.* (Joly), 17585–7.
[7] *Filostrato*, i, 44, 1–2 ; i, 45, 1, 3–4 ; *R. de T.* (Joly), 17643–17651.
[8] *Filostrato*, i, 47, 1–4 ; *R. de T.* (Joly), 17574–5, 17689–98. Cf. Crescini, p. 192. With Troilo's love pangs (*Filostrato*, i, 33–57 ; ii, 85–88) should be compared Benoit's entire account of the similar sufferings of Achilles and Diomedes (*R. de T.*, 17585–17716, 17980–18080, 20679–20800, 14927–14982).
[9] *Filostrato*, i, 48, 5–8 ; 49, 1–5 ; *Roman de Troie*, 17610–17615, 17679–17681.
[10] For an extended treatment of this point, see below, pp. 53 ff.

From the foregoing examination of specific likenesses we are, perhaps, prepared to accept the statement, "la sostanza di quell' innamoramento [*i. e.*, in *Filostrato*] è ancora derivata dal *Roman de Troie*."[1]

In connection with the account of the *innamoramento* in *Filo-strato* we must consider also a similar account at the beginning of Boccaccio's *Filocolo*.[2] Here the author tells us that in the spring of a certain year[3] he went to a solemn service in a temple. During the service his eye fell upon a lady of so great beauty that he, who had previously been avoiding love, tremblingly succumbed, and in an apostrophe declared his allegiance to "Amore." Our author says that on this occasion he did not accost his newly-discovered *innamorata*, but that some time later he saw her again in another temple in conversation with the priestesses of Diana, a conversation in which he had the good fortune to join, and in the course of which he received the commission to write the story of Florio and Biancofiore—that is, *Filocolo*.

However many literary parallels there may be for this episode,[4] no one seriously questions the autobiographical validity of it as an account of Boccaccio's *innamoramento* with Maria d'Aquino.[5] The recurrence of a similar scene in *Filostrato* has been sufficiently well known, and some inferences as to the autobiographical significance of the recurrence have been drawn.[6] No one, however, has con-

[1] Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 451. Savj-Lopez is, of course, not re-sponsible for the detailed comparisons made above. It should be noted that the temple episode in *Filostrato* owes nothing to another similar episode in Benoit's poem (ll. 4261–4372) in which is recounted the *innamoramento* of Paris and Helen. Nor is there any indication that the *innamoramento* in *Filostrato* is in any direct way influenced by similar scenes in such Greek romances as *Anthia and Abrocomes* of Xenophon of Ephesus (*Scriptores Erotici Graeci*, Vol. III, edited by C. G. Mitscherlich, 1794, pp. 194–200), or *Chaerea and Callirrhoe* of Chariton Aphrodisiensis (*Erotici Scriptores*, Lib. I, edited by G. A. Hirschig, Parisiis, 1856, pp. 415–16). Cf. E. Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 409, 418 (3), 517 ; B. Zumbini, *Nuova Antologia*, Serie IIᵃ, XVIII, 676 ; Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 456. On Petrarch's account of his own *innamoramento*, see especially G. Mestica, *Il Più Giovanile dei Sonetti del Petrarca e il suo primo innamoramento*, in *Fanfulla della Domenica,* No. 21, 20 Maggio, 1888. In connection with *Filostrato*, i, 33–48 one should consult pp. 571–4 of Miss Cipriani's article, *The Romance of the Rose and Chaucer* (*Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXII, 552–595). This article reached me only after my study was in proof.

[2] *Filocolo*, I, 4–8.          [3] On this date see above, p. 31.

[4] See note 1, above.

[5] See Crescini, *Contributo*, etc., pp. 151, 191 ; A. della Torre, pp. 31–101 ; Koerting, p. 463 ; Gaspary, II, 3 ; C. A.-Traversi, *Il Propugnatore*, Vol. XVI, Parte IIᵃ (1883), pp. 67–9 ; Rossi, pp 92–3.

[6] Cf. Crescini, *Contributo*, etc., p. 151 ; C. A.-Traversi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 246–265.

sidered the relative claims of the autobiographical account of the *innamoramento* in *Filocolo* and of the temple episode of Achilles and Polyxena in the *Roman de Troie* as possible sources of the part of *Filostrato* under discussion.[1]

If the episode in *Filostrato* were pure autobiography, we should expect the poem merely to repeat the account previously written in *Filocolo*.[2] Such a mere repetition does not occur. The external and disrespectful attitude of the hero[3] toward the service he is attending, the description of the people who come to the festival,[4] the hero's dejection when he leaves the temple,[5] the comment on the irresistible power of love,[6]—these are some of the details common to *Filostrato* and the *Roman de Troie* and absent from the account in *Filocolo*.[7] There are, however, in the account in *Filostrato* certain details that may well be repetitions from Boccaccio's own earlier work.

1. Troilo's cynical remarks concerning love and concerning his own previous experiences in love have no parallel in the *Roman de Troie*. Says Troilo,

> " Io provai già per la mia gran follia
> Qual fosse questo maladetto fuoco.
>
> . . . . . . .
>
> Or ne son fuor, mercè n' abbia colui
> Che fu di me più ch' io stesso pietoso,
> Io dico Giove, iddio vero, da cui
> Viene ogni grazia, e vivommi in riposo." [8]

In *Filocolo* the author gives a similar account of his own recalcitrant attitude,—

" . . . intentivamente cominciai a rimirare ne' begli occhi dell' adorna giovane, ne' quali io vidi dopo lungo guardare Amore in abito tanto pietoso, che me, *cui lungamente a mia istanza avea risparmiato,*

---

[1] While Savj-Lopez (*Romania*, XXVII, 451-2) notes similarities between Benoit's poem and *Filostrato* at this point, he ignores Boccaccio's earlier account in *Filocolo*.  Crescini (pp. 151-2) in comparing *Filocolo* and *Filostrato* makes no mention of the *Roman de Troie*.

[2] Since the account of the *innamoramento* in *Filocolo* marks the beginning of a love affair of which *Filostrato* represents a later stage, the chronological priority of this part of *Filocolo* can hardly be questioned.

[3] In *Filocolo* the respectful, personal interest of the author in the service is shown in his own words, "io attentamente udiva" (*Filocolo*, I, 5).

[4] See above, p. 37.    [5] See above, p. 38.    [6] See above, p. 38.

[7] It is to be noted also that the *innamoramento* in *Filocolo* is carried through *two* scenes in *separate* temples, whereas in *Filostrato* there is only one temple scene.

[8] *Filostrato*, i, 23, 1-2 ; i, 24, 1-4.  Cf. i, 21, 5—24, 8.

fece tornare, desideroso d' essergli per così bella donna, subietto. . . .
Adunque *io il quale ho la tua signoria lungamente temendo fuggita,*
ora ti prego che tu . . . entri in me colla tua deitade." [1]

2. However conventional certain of Boccaccio's phrases concern-
ing Griseida's beauty may be, similar phrases occur in *Filocolo*
and not in the French poem,—

> " Sì bella e sì angelica a vedere
> Era, *che non parea cosa mortale*
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .
> Il viso aveva adorno di bellezza
> Celestïale . . ." [2]

" E per le sue notabili bellezze e opere virtuose, più volte
facea pensare a molti che *non d' uomo ma di Dio figliuola stata
fosse.*" [3]

3. The description of Griseida's costume, for which there is no
parallel in Benoit's poem, is suggested in *Filocolo*. We are told
that Griseida is " sotto candido velo in bruna vesta." [4] The author
of *Filocolo* sees his lady on the second occasion conversing with
the priestesses of Diana,—

"  . . . sacerdotesse di Diana *sotto bianchi veli e di neri
vestimenti vestite.*" [5]

4. In the *Roman de Troie* we are not told the time of year
of the festival where Achilles encounters Polyxena. In *Filostrato*
and in *Filocolo* we are explicitly told that the *innamoramento*
occurs in the spring. [6]

From the relations of *Filocolo*, *Filostrato*, and *Roman de Troie*
now before us, we may attempt a fair conclusion as to the sources
of the temple scene in the Italian poem. In his earliest work,
*Filocolo*, Boccaccio gave what we may well believe to be a true
and reverent account of his own *innamoramento*. When he came
later to write the story of Troilo and Griseida, he found his
immediate sources wanting in an account of the early stages of
the love affair. From his own experience, from an account already
written in *Filocolo*, and from an account of a similar *innamoramento*
in the *Roman de Troie*, Boccaccio seems to have drawn suggestions
for the temple episode as we have it in *Filostrato*.

Undoubtedly Boccaccio's most important single addition to

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[1] *Filocolo*, I, 5-6.                    [2] *Filostrato*, i, 11, 4-5 ; i, 27, 3-4.
[3] *Filocolo*, I, 4.                        [4] *Filostrato*, i, 26, 7.
[5] *Filocolo*, I, 6.                        [6] *Filostrato*, i, 18, 1-4 ; *Filocolo*, I, 4-5.

the story of Troilo and Briseida of his predecessors is the figure of Pandaro,—a figure for which there were possible sources in real life, in general literature, and in the author's own earlier *Filocolo*.[1] Let us consider these possible sources in order.

Since Boccaccio himself tells us that in the Troilo of his poem he represents his own sufferings,[2] we may well inquire whether Troilo's friend, Pandaro, may not have an original in the gay and easy society surrounding King Robert, as several writers have hinted.[3] There is no external evidence to prove that Boccaccio had a faithful friend like Pandaro to whom he confided his love secrets, and to whom he committed the management of any part of his love affair with Maria d'Aquino. However, he who reads Boccaccio's works with a mind prepared for autobiographical disclosures will find suggestions of the author's having had a particular friend who performed for him in his love anguish at least some of the kind offices of Pandaro.[4] In the Proemio of *Il Decamerone* we read,

"Nella qual noia tanto rifrigerio già mi porsero *i piacivoli ragionamenti d'alcuno amico, e le sue laudevoli consolazioni,* che io porto fermissima opinione per quelle essere avvenuto che io non sia morto."[5]

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[1] It is to be noted that with the *Pandarus* of Homer, Virgil, Dictys, Dares, Benoit, and Guido, Boccaccio's *Pandaro* has nothing in common except the name. According to Homer (*Iliad*, ii, 827; iv, 88; v, 168, 171, 246, 795) Πάνδαρος is a distinguished Trojan archer and warrior. Virgil refers to the archer, Pandarus (*Aeneid*, v, 496), and to another Pandarus (*Aeneid*, ix, 672; xi, 396). Dictys represents Pandarus as a distinguished archer (*Dictys Cretensis Ephemeris Belli Troiani*, ii, 35; ii, 40–41). Dares merely mentions Pandarus as a Trojan leader (*Daretis Phrygii De Excidio Troiae Historia*, cap. xviii, p. 22). Benoit mentions Pandarus as a Trojan leader (*R. de T.*, 6667, 8135, 11315, 11353–11356). According to some MSS. of the *Roman de Troie*, Pandarus was present at the conference of Greek and Trojan chiefs as a result of which Anthenor and Thoas were exchanged (cf. *R. de T.*, 13071–13075, and variants of 13072). Guido makes fewer references to Pandarus than Benoit does, and adds no significant details (cf. *Historia*, sig. h 5 recto, col. 1, where the spelling is *Pandalus;* sig. f 5 verso, col. 2, where the spelling is *Pandorus*). On the name, see especially F. Moland et C. D'Héricault, *Nouvelles Françoises en Prose du XIV⁶ Siècle*, Paris, 1858, pp. xcii–xciii; W. Hertzberg, *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, VI, 199–200; Hamilton, pp. 92–95.          [2] Cf. Proemio to *Filostrato*, pp. 7–10.

[3] Cf. Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. II, Oxford, 1894, p. lxiii; A. Kissner, *Chaucer in seinen Beziehungen zur Italienischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1867, p. 52; A. Dobelli, *Il Culto del Boccaccio per Dante*, Venezia-Firenze, 1897, p. 21; Rossi, p. 81; F. De Sanctis, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Vol. I, Napoli, 1879, p. 308.

[4] Cf. Crescini, *Contributo*, etc., pp. 79, 83, 193; A. della Torre, pp. 269–270; C. Antona-Traversi, *Il Propugnatore*, Vol. XVII, Parte Iᵃ (1884), pp. 64, 268.

[5] *Il Decamerone*, edited by M. Foresi, Firenze, 1891, pp. 9–10. Cf. Crescini, p. 33, note 1; Rossi, p. 67.

From such an utterance we might easily infer that Boccaccio had a devoted male friend who in a serious crisis gave him genuine consolation.[1]   Again, in *Filocolo*, in the pleasant episode of the court of love, Clonico, when his turn comes to propose a "question," tells the simple and almost moving story of his *innamoramento*, and of the subsequent infidelity of his lady. Regarding his condition after his betrayal, he says,

"Delle quali cose dolendomi io un giorno tutto soletto in un giardino, con infiniti sospiri accompagnati da molte lagrime, so-pravvenne *un mio singulare amico, al quale parte de' miei danni era palese, e quivi con pietose parole mi cominciò a volere ricon-fortare :* i cui conforti non ascoltando io niente, ma rispondendogli che la mia miseria ogni altra passava. . . ."[2]

If Clonico be speaking for Boccaccio here,[3] the "singulare amico" may indicate a friend like Pandaro.   Perhaps we can see behind the veil once more in *Il Corbaccio*, where we read,

"Veramente ci son' io altre volte assai stato, ma con più lieta fortuna, secondo il parer delle corporali menti ; *e di quinci più per l'altrui grazia,* che per lo mio senno, in diversi modi or mi ricordo essere."[4]

Since Boccaccio certainly meant to reveal his own biography in many places in his works, since there is every reason for believing that a man in love might have a consoling friend, and since the passages quoted, and some others,[5] might well ring true from real experience, there is certainly some ground for a belief that Boccaccio had a friend in some respects like the Pandaro of *Filostrato*.   Nevertheless, however real the personality of Pandaro may have been to Boccaccio, our author may still be presenting that personality to us under a borrowed literary veil, for we have evidence enough that Boccaccio uses literary models for accounts that are at bottom autobiographical.[6]   Moreover, none of the

[1] It is to be noted that such a passage in a Proemio of one of Boccaccio's works has for its autobiographical validity a certain antecedent probability not so easily attached to passages within the works themselves.

[2] *Filocolo*, II, 69.   Cf. Crescini, pp. 76–77, 79, note 1.

[3] Cf. Crescini, pp. 76–77.

[4] *Il Corbaccio* (*Opere Minori*, Sonzogno, Milano, 1879), p. 270.   Cf. Crescini, p. 83   note 1.   On *Il Corbaccio*, see H. Hauvette, *Une Confession de Boccace, Il Corbaccio*, in *Bulletin Italien*, I (1901), 3–21.

[5] Cf. *Filocolo*, I, 284–285,—the friend who consoles Fileno.   Notice also the faithful friend referred to by Galeone, *Filocolo*, II, 275.   On the confidante of Fiammetta, see *Fiammetta*, ed. Sonzogno, pp. 29, 38.   Cf. Crescini, p. 193, note 2 ; A. della Torre, p. 269.

[6] See above, p. 29.

consoling friends that our author alludes to in the various passages that we have noted is in any way characterized as a go-between, and hence none of these friends affords anything like a complete resemblance to Pandaro. Therefore, in spite of the few hints that Boccaccio gives us as to the existence of a real character who may in some respects resemble Pandaro, we are still justified in a search for possible literary sources for this famous figure.

A comprehensive study of the evolution of the character-type that Pandaro represents would no doubt take us back to the very beginnings of human society, or rather to such reflections of those beginnings as we may find in the most primitive tales of love and courtship. We should hear of brides and mistresses won through the aid of "helpful animals," of "helpful companions," and of magic. We should hear of maidens committing their love to nurses, to confidantes, and to sorceresses. In the present study I shall mention only a few examples of the pander type in the literature preceding Boccaccio, and I shall consider in detail only those literary examples that may be supposed to have some intimate bearing on the development of Boccaccio's Pandaro.

The stock character of go-between, or procurer, is anciently and abundantly represented in the comedies of Plautus. Ballio of *Pseudolus*, Capadox of *Curculio*, Labrax of *Rudens*, Dardalus of *Persa*, and Lycus of *Poenulus*, all represent this character in his most "professional" type.[1] Less "professional," but still active as go-betweens, are Sceledrus, the servant of Pyrgopolinices, in *Miles Gloriosus*, and Pistoclerus in *Bacchides*, engaged by his friend, Mnesilochus, to search for the latter's mistress, Bacchis. Ovid, in his treatises on the conduct of love affairs, gives us detailed information as to the uses of the female go-between. In the *Amores*, the *lena*, Dipsas, gives her own account of the proper procedure in a love affair.[2] In other parts of the same work the author speaks of using Corinna's servants as go-betweens,[3] a procedure concerning which he gives us definite advice in *Ars Amatoria*.[4]

A fair example of the female go-between as she appears in mediæval literature is found in the *anus* who brings together

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[1] I omit Cleareta, the procuress, mother of Philenium, in *Asinaria*.
[2] *Amores*, Lib. i, Eleg. viii.
[3] *Id.*, Lib. i, Eleg. xi, 1-13 ; Lib. ii, Eleg. viii.
[4] *Ars Amatoria*, i, 351-398.

Pamphilus and Galatea in that bald love drama, *Pamphilus de Amore*.[1]

None of these examples resembles very closely Boccaccio's Pandaro, who, far from being a servant or a "professional," is the friend and adviser of Troilo, as well as the procurer of his lady. Effective friends remotely resembling Pandaro are common in mediæval literature. In the romance of *Generydes*, for example, we are told that the hero's tutor, Natanell, successfully acts as procurer in Generydes' love affair with Clarionas.[2] Again, in the romance of *Sir Eglamour*, the squire of the hero gives his master advice and help in procuring the love of Cristabelle.[3] In the French romance of *Claris et Laris* we read that Laris encourages the love of his friend, Claris, for Lydaine, wife of King Ladont and sister of Laris. The feeling of Laris toward this adulterous love is shown in his words to Claris,

> " 'Claris,' fet il, ' pou m'amiez,
> Quant cele chose celiez.
> Ja pour ce voir ne vous harrai,
> Ançois vous en evancerai
> Vers ma seror, bien le sachiez !
> Mes que vous plus ne vous sechiez ;
> Mes pensez de joie mener !
> Car je croi bien a ce mener
> Ma seror, (ne m'en cuit taisir),
> Que l'avrez a vostre plesir.' " [4]

A similar encouraging third person appears in such allegories as

[1] Edited by A. Baudouin, Paris, 1874.   On the date and authorship, see A. Ebert, *Allgemeines Bibliographisches Lexikon*, II Bd., Leipzig, 1830, col. 298.

[2] *Generydes*, edited by W. A. Wright, *E.E.T.S.*, Part I, London, 1873, ll. 757–924.

[3] *Sir Eglamour*, edited by G. Schleich, Berlin, 1906, ll. 49 ff.   For analogues, more or less close, see also Sir Tralabas, in *The Earl of Tolous* (edited by G. Lüdtke, Berlin, 1881, ll. 181 ff.); Talamewe, in *Ipomedon* (edited by E. Kölbing, Breslau, 1889, ll. 145–153, 193–297, 1250–1252, 1538–1555, 1700–1723, 2312 ff.) ; Squire Robert, in *Li Biaus Desconneus* (edited by C. Hippeau, Paris, 1860) ; Garinès, in *Amadas et Ydoine* (edited by C. Hippeau, Paris, 1863, ll. 2450 ff.) ; Pinchonnès, in *Cleomadès* (edited by A. van Hasselt, Vol. II, Bruxelles, 1866, pp. 88 ff.).   Cf. also Merlin's use of magic in order to give King Uther a night with Igerna (Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed. San-Marte, Halle, 1854, lib. viii, cap. 19). Cf. Dido's use of a *sorcière* in the romance, *Aeneas* (edited by J. Salverda de Grave, Halle, 1891, ll. 1905 ff.).

[4] *Li Romans de Claris et Laris* (edited by J. Alton, Tübingen, 1884), ll. 3970–3979.   Cf. Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 469.   See also *Claris et Laris*, ll. 3716–3993, 7867–8199, 15384–16401.

*Le Roman de la Rose*, where the bewildered "Amant" is coun-selled by the sympathetic "Ami."[1]

Although we may be sure that Boccaccio was well aware of the distribution of this type in mediæval literature, there is no evidence that any of the characters thus far mentioned had any part in the formation of the character of Pandaro. As a possible direct source of Boccaccio's character we may look to a more famous story than any that we have hitherto cited.

In the Tristan story in its Italian romance form,[2] Governale, the faithful companion of Tristano, is in some respects a close analogue to Pandaro.[3] Governale performs the offices of guardian,[4] adviser,[5] pander,[6] and mere attendant or servant.[7] In his services as pander for Belicies and Tristano he shows only a general resem-blance to Pandaro.[8] At certain times, however, his advice to Tristano is quite like Pandaro's to Troilo. When Tristano is grieving over his troublesome dream of the stag Governale says to him,

"'Tristano, voi sì non dovete pensare nele visione, le quali voi vedete in songni. Impercioe il vi dico ch' io abo inteso che le visione non sono da credere, impercioe che sono vanitade. Ed acciò vi dico che voi non dovete pensare a queste cose.' Molto confortava Governale Tristano, ma questo conforto non gli vale neente, tanto ee lo dolore ch' egli sostiene."[9]

This advice of Governale's is quite like Pandaro's to Troilo, when the young lover is grieving over his vision of the boar,—

> " Io ti dissi altra volta, che follia
> Era ne' sogni troppo riguardare ;
> Nessun ne fu, nè è, nè giammai fia
> Che possa certo ben significare,
> Ciò che dormendo altrui la fantasia
> Con varie forme puote dimostrare,

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[1] *Roman de la Rose* (edited by F. Michel, 2 Tom., Paris, 1864), ll. 3137 ff. Cf. also Bel-Acueil, *id.*, ll. 2799 ff. Cf. E. Gorra, *Testi Inediti di Storia Trojana*, Torino, 1887, p. 353, note 1 ; *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXII, 574, 576–7, 579, 581, 584.

[2] See *Il Tristano Riccardiano*, edited by E. G. Parodi, Bologna, 1896.

[3] See Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 459–461, 468.

[4] *Il Tristano Riccardiano*, pp. 7–8, 9, 11, 14, 17–18.

[5] *Id.*, pp. 32–33, 80, 83, 180, 187.

[6] *Id.*, pp. 19–21, 25, 99–100, 122–123.

[7] *Id.*, pp. 40–41, 63, 112–113, 140–142, 158, 172–173, 178–180, 185, 199, 213–214, 262–264.

[8] *Id.*, pp. 19–21.

[9] *Id.*, p. 187. Cf. Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 460.

> E molti già credettero una cosa,
> Ch' altra n' avvenne opposita e ritrosa " [1]

Again, Tristano, made desperate by the thought of losing Isotta, is comforted by Governale as follows,—

" Quando Tristano intese queste parole fue tanto doloroso che volea morire, ed allora incontanente sì tramortio. E Governale quando vide tramortito Tristano fue molto doloroso. E istando per uno poco, e Tristano tornoe in see. E Governale disse : ' Per mia fe, Tristano, voi non siete bene savio, quando voi volete morire in cotale maniera. E impercioe voi priego che voi sì vi dobiate confortare e non vi dobiate uccidere anzi ora.' " [2]

The situation here is similar to that in *Filostrato* where Pandaro restrains and comforts Troilo when he is about to kill himself in grief over the assumed infidelity of Griseida.   Says Troilo,

> " Poi la fortuna a sì malvagia sorte
> Recato m' ha, il morir fia diletto,
> Dove il viver saria noia e dispetto.
>
> E questo detto, corse ad un coltello,
> Il qual pendea nella camera aguto,
> E per lo petto si volle con ello
> Dar, se non fosse che fu ritenuto
> Da Pandaro." [3]

Pandaro addresses him sympathetically,—

> " Troilo, sempre in tal credenza fui
> Di te ver me, che s' io stato fossi oso
> Di domandar per me o per altrui
> Che t' uccidessi, tu sì animoso
> Senza indugio nessun l' avessi fatto,
> Com' io farei per te in ciascun atto.
>
> E tu a' preghi miei non hai la morte
> Sozza e spiacevol voluta fuggire." [4]

The close resemblance between another detail in *Filostrato* and a detail in the *Tristano* [5] may strengthen the possibility that in composing his poem Boccaccio had this romance in mind.   During the first night of the young lovers together Griseida,

[1] *Filostrato*, vii, 40, 1-8.  Cf. v, 32-33 ; vii, 36-45 ; viii, 19.  Before inferring the direct influence of *Tristano* upon *Filostrato* at this point, one should note the discussions of dreams in *Filocolo*,—see below, pp. 64 ff.
[2] *Il Tristano Riccardiano*, p. 188.  Cf. Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 460.
[3] *Filostrato*, vii, 32, 6—33, 5.
[4] *Id.*, vii, 37, 3—38, 2.
[5] Cf. Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 459-460.

> " . . . nell' ultima vesta
> Rimasa," [1]

says to Troilo,

> " . . . speglio mio, *le nuove spose*
> *Son la notte primiera vergognose.*" [2]

This detail may have been suggested by the scene in the *Tristano*, where on the marriage night of King Marco and Isotta, Braguina puts herself in the King's bed in place of Isotta. To make the deception possible, Tristano extinguishes the lights of the bridal chamber, and when the King asks the reason for such a procedure, Tristano replies,

" 'Questa è una usanza d' Irlanda, che quando una pulciella si corica novella mente allato a ssuo sengnore, *la prima notte* si fanno inspegnare li lumi, perchè la donna non si vergongni ; perchè *le pulcielle si sono troppo vergongnose.*' " [3]

In view of the evidence adduced, it seems possible that in composing *Filostrato* Boccaccio may have taken from the *Tristano* suggestions for his Pandaro, and certain other details.[4] Nevertheless, it is to be observed that however many details connected with Governale may reappear in connection with Pandaro, Governale is essentially a very different character from Pandaro. Governale is Tristano's "maestro," his companion at arms, or his valet. He always assumes the rôle of the faithful attendant rather than that of the courtly "amico" of Boccaccio's poem. Such a courtly "amico" we find in another famous mediæval romance well known to Boccaccio,[5] and immortalized by Dante in the words he gives to Francesca da Rimini,—

> " Noi leggevamo un giorno per diletto
> Di *Lancilotto* come amor lo strinse
> . . . . . .
> *Galeotto* fu il libro e chi lo scrisse." [6]

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[1] *Filostrato*, iii, 31, 5–6.  [2] *Id.*, iii, 31, 7–8.
[3] *Il Tristano Riccardiano*, p. 123.
[4] Cf. Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 461, 468. As to Boccaccio's undoubted acquaintance with the romance of *Tristano*, see Rossi, pp. 35, note 1, 42, 78 ; G. Malavasi, *La Materia poetica del ciclo brettone in Italia*, Nella Mirandola, 1901, p. 21, note 4. On the distribution of this romance in Italy, see Malavasi, pp. 13–22.
[5] Boccaccio's knowledge of this romance later in life is made certain by his comments on the reference to it in Dante. See *Il Commento sopra la Commedia di Dante Alighieri*, Tomo II, pp. 60–62 (*Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Vol. XI, Firenze, Moutier, 1831). On the currency of this story in Boccaccio's circle in Naples, see A. della Torre, pp. 165–6. Cf. Rossi, pp. 35, note 1, 42, 78 ; *Il Corbaccio*, ed. Sonzogno, pp. 305–6 ; B. Zumbini : *Nuova Antologia*, Serie II^a, XVIII (1879), 682 ; Malavasi, pp. 13–22, and especially p. 21, note 4.  [6] *Inferno*, v, 127–8, 137.

The part of the Lancelot story referred to by Dante here and alluded to by him elsewhere,[1] may be outlined as follows :[2]

Galehout, the comrade of Lancelot and the devoted knight of the Queen, busies himself morning and evening in efforts to effect an amorous meeting of these two.    At last an opportune day arrives. Carrying Lancelot's last request, that the meeting be kept secret, Galehout departs to make arrangements with the Queen.    Galehout assures her that the flower of knighthood is ready to come to her. After supper Guinevere, accompanied by Galehout, the Lady of Mahout, and two other women, goes to the bushy meadow appointed for the meeting.    Galehout summons Lancelot, who stands trembling and pale before the Queen.    To alleviate the embarrassment of the lovers Galehout withdraws ; but even then, Lancelot is so reticent that only by a series of searching questions can the Queen induce him to tell his name and recount his adventures.    At last she assures herself that he is Lancelot del Lac, and elicits from him a declaration of love.    At this moment the Lady of Mahout near by coughs, as a sign that she is aware of the doings of the lovers.    Lancelot is for a time dumb with fear, but recovers sufficiently to continue his account of his love.    As a test of his sincerity, the Queen accuses him of looking too ardently at her three attendants.    This accusation causes Lancelot such anguish that he all but swoons, so that the Queen must steady his arm till Galehout comes running up.    Galehout urges the Queen to be merciful and to allow her lover a first kiss.    This request she readily grants, and when the modest Lancelot hesitates to approach her, she herself kisses him.    After the knight has given the Queen an oath of fidelity, the party retire homeward in the moonlight. After escorting the Queen to her bed, Galehout goes to spend the night with Lancelot, whom he comforts with talk of the happy occurrences of the evening.

[1] Dante alludes to the story of Lancelot in the *Paradiso*, where he says that Beatrice in her smiling resembled the lady who coughed at the time of Guinevere's first fault,—

"Ridendo, parve quella, che tossio
    Al primo fallo scritto di Ginevra" (*Paradiso*, xvi, 14–15).

On the detail of the Lancelot story here mentioned, see P. Toynbee, *Dante Studies and Researches*, London, 1902, pp. 1–37 ; F. Novati, *Arte, Scienza e Fede ai Giorni di Dante*, Milano, 1901, pp. 269–276, 280–281 ; L. Moland, *Les Origines Littéraires de la France*, Paris, 1862, pp. 51–58, 373–383.    Dante alludes to another part of the Lancelot story in the *Convivio*, iv, 8.    Cf. Toynbee, p. 1, note 1.    On Dante's use of a French version of the story, see Toynbee, p. 8.

[2] I follow the French text given by P. Toynbee, pp. 10–22, from a MS. of the thirteenth century.    Cf. Toynbee, p. 9.    For similar extracts from other MSS., see W. J. A. Jonckbloet, *Roman van Lancelot*, Tweede Deel, Gravenhage, 1849, pp. xl–xlvii ; L. Moland, *Les Origines Littéraires de la France*, Paris, 1862, pp. 373–383 ; F.-L. Polidori, *La Tavola Ritonda o l'Istoria di Tristano*, Parte II[a], Bologna, 1865, pp. 260–264.    Cf. P. Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, Tome IIIe, Paris, 1872, pp. 249–270.

There can be no doubt that the Galehout of this story closely resembles Boccaccio's Pandaro. In Galehout we have no longer the tutor, the servant, or the mere go-between, but a courtly knight [1] who meets Lancelot and the Queen upon a plane of social equality and genuine friendship. In his courtly bearing, in his easy familiarity, in his friendly devotion, and in his enthusiastic activities as pander, Galehout is a true precursor of Pandaro. The resemblances between Galehout and Pandaro and between the Lancelot story and *Filostrato* will perhaps bear further examination.

Although we have no detailed information concerning Galehout's activities before the day when he actually brought the lovers together, we are told, nevertheless, that he made many jaunts back and forth, " night and morning,"—

" Einsint aloit Galehout a son compaingnon au main et au soir, et a chascune foiz quil reuenoit li demandoit la roine quil auoit troue." [2]

These activities of Galehout are quite parallel to Pandaro's rushings back and forth, early and late.[3]

On a certain morning Galehout announces to the Queen that " la flor des chevaliers," [4] whose name she does not know, is ready to come to her as her lover. In this circumstance we are reminded of Pandaro's coming to Griseida and describing to her the young prince, whom she has not seen, and who desires her love,—

> " Chi è dunque colui che si diletta
> Sì di vedermi ? Griseida disse.
> A cui Pandaro allora : giovinetta,
> Poichè colui che il mondo circonscrisse,
> Fece il primo uom, non credo più perfetta
> Anima in alcun altro mai inserisse." [5]

It is to be noted that in the Lancelot story the Queen takes the more active part in desiring and in arranging for her first meeting with Lancelot. The knight himself throughout the episode

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[1] In the Italian *Tristano*, Galeotto is spoken of as " Lo sire dele Lontane Isole . . . lo piue alto principe del mondo, e lo piue valentre" (*Il Tristano Riccardiano*, p. 113). Boccaccio tells us that Pandaro is "D' alto lignaggio . . ." (*Filostrato*, ii, 1, 4).

[2] Toynbee, p. 10.

[3] Cf. *Filostrato*, ii, 1, 3–8 ; 34, 1–4 ; 79, 1–3 ; 108, 1–2 ; 118, 1–2 ; 128, 3–4 ; 133, 1–4 ; iii, 4, 1–4 ; 21, 2–3 ; 22, 3–4 ; 73, 1–2 ; iv, 42, 4–6 ; 43, 1 ; 95, 5–6 ; 109, 1 ; v, 22, 1–3 ; viii, 3, 5–8.

[4] Toynbee, p. 11.         [5] *Filostrato*, ii, 41, 1–6.

is modest, timid, and passive. The Queen's bold reception of the modest Lancelot is recounted thus,—

" Et la roine prent le cheualier par la main la ou il est agenouz si lasiet deuant li et li fet molt bel senblant, et li dit tot en riant, ' Sir, molt uos auons desirie tant que deu merci et Galehout qui ci est que or uos ueons. ' " [1]

Meanwhile the timid knight

". . . tranble si durement quil ne puet la roine saluer, et a tote la color perdue si que la roine sen merueille molt." [2]

The mutual relation of these two lovers is quite parallel to the relation of the lovers to each other in *Filostrato*. Chaucer's refining of Criseyde's character and demeanour often causes us to forget that Boccaccio's Griseida, as soon as Pandaro has overcome her first weak defence of modesty, shows a wanton passion and a self-confidence not unlike Queen Guinevere's. It is Griseida herself who makes the arrangements for her first meeting with Troilo,[3] and it is she who utters her passion thus:—

> " L' acqua furtiva, assai più dolce cosa
> È che il vin con abbondanza avuto :
> Così d' amor la gioia, che nascosa
> Trapassa assai, del sempre mai tenuto
> Marito in braccio ; adunque vigorosa
> Ricevi il dolce amante, il qual venuto
> T' è fermamente mandato da Dio,
> E sodisfa' al suo caldo disio." [4]

On the other hand, Troilo's timid modesty throughout the poem is illustrated by his reply to Pandaro when the latter is urging on the amorous attack,—

> " Ma come mancherà però l'ardore
> Ch' io porto dentro, ch'io non vidi mai
> Che ella s'accorgesse del mio amore ?
> Ella nol crederà se tu il dirai :
> Poi per tema di te, questo furore
> Biasimerà, e niente farai." [5]

In connection with the possible influence of the Lancelot romance upon Boccaccio's poem, there may be significance in the detail of Griseida's coughing as a signal to Troilo on the night of their first meeting,—

[1] Toynbee, pp. 12–13.          [2] *Id.*, p. 12.
[3] Cf. *Filostrato*, ii, 143, 1–8 ; iii, 21, 1–4 ; 26–28.
[4] *Id.*, ii, 74, 1–8.                    [5] *Id.*, ii, 30, 1–6.

> " Griseida l'aveva ben sentito
>   Venire, perchè acciò ch'egli intendesse,
>   Com' era imposto, *ell' aveva tossito*." [1]

In the Lancelot romance we are told that when the Queen is eliciting an avowal of love from the reticent Lancelot, one of her ladies coughs, as a sign that the lovers are observed,—

" A ces paroles que la reine li disoit auint que *la dame de maloaut sestossi* tot a escient et dreca la teste que ele auoit embronchiee." [2]

In view of Boccaccio's undoubted acquaintance with this romance, and in view of the similarities hinted at above, it seems entirely probable that in composing *Filostrato* Boccaccio may have been guided in some measure by the story of Lancelot, and that in introducing the figure of Pandaro into his poem he may have been somewhat influenced by the famous pander, Galehout.

A more immediate, though less adequate, literary source for Boccaccio's Pandaro is found in the *Roman de Troie* itself.[3] We have already considered Boccaccio's use in *Filostrato* of the *innamoramento* of Achilles as recounted in Benoit's poem.[4] We must now direct our attention to that shadowy " ami " to whom Achilles commits his eager negotiations with the parents of the beautiful Polyxena. Benoit's account [5] of the activities of this shadowy personage may be outlined as follows:

After having seen Polyxena in the temple, Achilles retires to his tent, languishing in the agony of love. As soon as he can collect his wits, he summons a faithful " ami," in whom he greatly trusts, and to whom he reveals his love secret,—

> " Un suen ami, un suen feeil
> Qui nolt savoit de son conseil
> A fet venir de devant sei,
> Puis li descovri son segrei,
> Tot li a dit coment li vait,
> Celée nule ne l'en fait.
> Bien li encharja son message." [6]

[1] *Filostrato*, iii, 26, 1–3.
[2] Toynbee, p. 17.   On Dante's allusion to this detail, see above, p. 50, note 1.
[3] This source for Pandaro was first pointed out by Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 453.
[4] See above, pp. 35 ff.
[5] Guido's abridged account at this point (*Historia*, sig. k 3 recto col. 1— verso, col. 2) provides no significant details not present in the *Roman de Troie*.
[6] *R. de T.* (Joly), 17717–17723.

Achilles bids his friend go to Troy and, with suitable protestations and apologies, ask Hecuba for Polyxena in marriage, bidding him add that if the request is granted, Achilles will withdraw from the conflict and end the war.   This able " ami " departs for Troy with his message,—

> " Li mès s'en est tornez atant.
> Celeement et à privé
> Est venuz dreit à la cité.
> Cil fu bien sages et bien duiz :
> En sa chanbre entre o bons conduiz,
> A la réine saluz rent,
> De son seignor priveement ;
> Enprès li a dit son message." [1]

When the messenger has briefly and skilfully presented his request to Hecuba, she replies adroitly, bidding him return on the third day hence for a final answer.   The messenger promptly reports to Achilles,—

> " Li messagiers issi l'otreie,
> Erraument s'est mis à la veie ;
> Sanz ço que fust aparcevance,
> De bien errer molt tost s'avance.
> Repairiez est à son seignor
> Qui molt esteit en grant tremor
> Por saveir que il fet aveit.
> Joie a molt grant quant il lo veit,
> Demande li que il a fait ;
> Et cil li a senpres retrait
> Tot lo respons à la réine.
> Lo jor devise et lo termine,
> Qu'ele li a posé et mis.
> ' Se ne s'en faint li reis eschis
> Vostre besoigne iert achevée.'
> Ore ot il qui molt li agrée,
> Or li est li cuers revenuz." [2]

Achilles is well pleased with his own prospects and with the conduct of his " ami."   Meanwhile Hecuba presents the matter eloquently to Priam, who gives his consent upon the conditions stipulated.   On the third day Achilles' faithful messenger returns eagerly to the Trojan court to receive his answer,—

> " Anceis que levast li soleil,
> Fu li mès al tierz jorz tornez.

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[1] *Roman de Troie* (Joly), 17776–17783.
[2] *Id.*, 17829–17845.

> Molt fu li termes desirez.
> Anceis que il fust aconpliz,
> Dedanz la chanbre as ars voltiz
> En est venuz à la Réine.
> C. saluz rent à la meschine
> De par son seignor qui li mande
> A li se done et se comande :
> Del tot velt metre en son voleir
> Sei et sa terre et son aveir.
> Ni puet longue parole faire ;
> Car la réine de bon aire
> Est de devant qui ne li lait."[1]

After giving a favourable answer, the Queen enjoins secrecy,—

> " ' Issi,' fet ele, ' puoz retraire :
> Ci a grant ovre et grant affaire ;
> Celée seit tant que seit faite,
> Que ne seit dite ne retraite.' "[2]

The "ami" departs speedily to carry the reply to Achilles,—

> " Congié a pris li mès atant :
> De la vile s'en ist atant,
> A son seignor est repairiez."[3]

Meanwhile Achilles, languishing in love, awaits impatiently the return of his messenger,—

> " Issi destreiz, issi sorpris,
> Issi en amor ententis,
> Attendi tant et consira,
> Que sis messages repaira.
> Quant il le vit joie ot et crieme :
> Ço est reson d'amanz qui il crieme.
> Enquis li a et demandé
> Savoir qu'en li avoit mandé ;
> Et cil ne l'en a fait celée,
> Tote l'ovre li a mostrée,
> Toz les respons, les covenanz
> Que li tendra li reis Prianz,
> Et la requeste que il font,
> Et com il l'en asséurront."[4]

With a few words of warning, the faithful "ami" finishes his services to Achilles,—

> " ' Pensez,' fet il, ' com l'oz s'en alt ;
> Tant sai gie bien, se Dex me salt,

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[1] *R. de T.* (Joly), 17946–17959.   [2] *Id.*, 17971–17974.
[3] *Id.*, 17975–17977.   [4] *Id.*, 18081–18094.

> Ses poez faire departir
> Et en lor terres revertir
> Sesiront vos de la pucele,
> Qui sor totes altres est bele.
> Ainz ne seriez vos ja sesiz,
> Devant ques en aiez partiz.
> S'en ceste chose dotez rien,
> Il vos en asséurront bien,
> Tot issi com devisereiz,
> Et com mielz dire le saureiz.' " [1]

Such, in substance and in extent, is the rôle played by Achilles's "ami." Although a trusted friend of Achilles, this character is, in the conduct of the love affair, merely a messenger, without initiative, and, so far as we know, not intimately related to either party. He is in no sense a "pander," for the business in his hands is a proposal of honourable marriage. Such a figure is certainly only a very vague prototype for the scheming and courtly "cugino" of Griseida and "amico" of Troilo. However, since Boccaccio undoubtedly used at least part of the episode in the *Roman de Troie* with which this "ami" is connected,[2] it seems likely that this shadowy character had some influence in the formation of the Pandaro of *Filostrato*. We may perhaps conjecture that from the "ami" of Benoit Boccaccio received his first suggestion for adding a new character to the story of Troilo and Briseida.[3] More than this hint the French poem could hardly have provided. Suggestions for developing such a hint we have already found in the stories of Tristan and of Lancelot. We must now look for still further suggestions in Boccaccio's own *Filocolo*.

Although there is in *Filocolo* no character who can be called a pander, there are at least three personages who in their services to young lovers remind us of some of the activities of Pandaro. These three are Duke Feramonte, in whose charge Florio is put when he is separated from Biancofiore and sent to Montorio, Ascalione, Florio's tutor, and Glorizia, Biancofiore's maid and comforter.[4] I believe that in composing *Filostrato* Boccaccio kept these characters in mind and took from them certain definite sug-

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[1] *R. de T.* (Joly), 18095–18106.
[2] See above, pp. 35 ff.
[3] Cf. Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 453, 467.
[4] To these may be added the "fedelissimo servidore," who carries letters between Florio and Biancofiore (cf. below, pp. 60–61).

gestions and details which we find embodied in the finished
character of Pandaro.

Let us note first the similarities between the two scenes in
which Troilo and Florio, respectively, disclose their love to
Pandaro and to Duke Feramonte.[1]  On a certain day Pandaro,
finding Troilo alone and dejected in his room, asks the reason for
his grief, an inquiry to which Troilo replies bluntly.

> " Standosi in cotal guisa *un dì soletto*
> *Nella camera sua Troilo pensoso*,
> Vi sopravvenne un troian giovinetto,
> D' alto lignaggio e molto coraggioso ;
> Il qual veggendo lui sopra il suo letto
> Giacer disteso e *tutto lagrimoso*,
> Che è questo, gridò, amico caro ?
>
> . . . . . . .
>
> Pandaro, disse Troilo, *qual fortuna*
> T' *ha qui condotto a vedermi morire ?*
> Se la nostra amistade ha forza alcuna,
> *Piacciati quinci volerti partire*." [2]

When Troilo refuses to give a satisfactory answer, Pandaro urges
him in the name of friendship to let him share his troubles,—

> " . . . se *la nostra amistade*,
> Come soleva, t' è ora in piacere,
> Discuopri a me qual sia la crudeltade
> Che di morir ti fa tanto calere ;
> *Ch' atto non è d' amico,* alcuna cosa
> Al suo amico di tener nascosa.
>
> *Io vo' con teco partir queste pene,*
> *Se dar non posso a tua noia conforto,*
> Perciocchè coll' amico si convene
> Ogni cosa partir, noia e diporto." [3]

Pandaro assures Troilo that he himself has suffered from love, and
is therefore the better able to give advice,—

> " *Io ho amato sventuratamente,*
> Ed amo ancora per lo mio peccato
>
> . . . . . . .
>
> Ed io, come tu sai, contra mia voglia
> Amo, nè mi può tor nè crescer doglia." [4]

Moved at last by such urging, Troilo confesses that his love of

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[1] *Filostrato*, ii, 1–33.   *Filocolo*, I, 214–222.
[2] *Filostrato*, ii, 1, 1–7 ; 2, 1–4.
[3] *Id.*, ii, 4, 3—5, 4.          [4] *Id.*, ii, 11, 1–2 ; 13, 7–8.

Griseida is the cause of his pain, and with that confession he falls prostrate,—

> " *E sopra il letto ricadde supino,*
> Piangendo forte . . ." [1]

Pandaro congratulates Troilo upon the object of his love, and promises to help him to a successful issue, bidding him meanwhile control his passion,—

> " Ma s' altro non ci noia, credi a questa
> Troverò modo con mie parolette
> Qual ti bisogna ; possi tu soffrire,
> *Ben raffrenando il tuo caldo disire.*" [2]

Troilo accepts Pandaro's advice and submits to his guidance,—

> " *Io credo ciò che tu di' di costei*
>
> .   .   .   .   .   .
>
> Pandaro mio, io mi ti raccomando." [3]

This scene in *Filostrato* is well matched, step by step, in the similar interview between Duke Feramonte and Florio in *Filocolo*, which may be outlined as follows :

One day, the Duke, finding the forlorn Florio alone in his room, inquires concerning his grief,—

" Non *uscì della trista camera* come era l'altre mattine usato, ma in quella stando, si tornò sopra i pensieri del dì preterito ; e in quelli dimorandó, il duca . . . entrò nella camera dicendo : . . . *Quali pensieri t' occupano ?* . . . perchè queste lagrime ? " [4]

Since Florio is too deeply dejected to reply readily, the Duke urges him in the name of friendship to disclose the cause of his sorrow,—

" Lieva su . . . lascia il piagnere, il qual è atto femminile e di pusillanimo cuore,[5] e alza il viso verso il cielo, e dimmi qual cagione ti fa dolere. Tu sai che io sono a te congiuntissimo parente, e quando questo non fosse, sì *sai tu che io di perfettissima amistà ti sono congiunto :* e chi sovverrà gli uomini negli affanni e nelle avversità di consiglio o d' aiuto, se i parenti o *i cari amici* non gli

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[1] *Filostrato*, ii, 16, 1-2.    Cf. ii, 20, 7-8.

[2] *Id.*, ii, 23, 5-8.    [3] *Id.*, ii, 29, 7 ; 33, 6.

[4] *Filocolo*, I, 214-215.    Troilo's blunt reply to Pandaro (cf. *Filostrato*, ii, 2, 1-4, quoted above) has no precise parallel in this particular conversation in *Filocolo*.    Troilo's blunt reply may, however, be compared with Florio's reply to Ascalione in a similar interview,—

" Oimè, or *chi vi mena a vedere la miseria della mia vita*, alla quale forse voi credete levar pena con parole confortevoli, e voi più n' aggiungete ? Se può essere, caramente *vi prego che me qui solo lasciate* " (*Filocolo*, I, 238).

[5] Cf. *Filostrato*, v, 35, 1-3.

sovvengono ?    E a cui similmente si fiderà alcuno *se all' amico non si fida ?*    Dì' sicuramente a me quale sia la cagione della tua doglia, *acciocchè io prima ti possa porgere debito conforto, e poi adoperando aiuto.*" [1]

Florio recites the history and the nature of his passion for Biancofiore, after which recital he falls prostrate,—

"E questo detto, perdendo ogni potere, *sopra il ricco letto* subitamente ricadde supino." [2]

The Duke offers comforting advice, with the assurance that he himself has had experience,—

". . . conciossiacosachè amore sia sì nobile accidente, che sì vile vita non consentiria menare a chi lui tiene per signore, come tu meni ; *e io l' ho già provato.*" [3]

The Duke gives Florio every encouragement as to the ultimate success of his love, but bids him restrain his passion and seek other pleasures,—

". . . *ristrignerei l' amorose fiamme dentro con potente freno.*" [4]

Florio acknowledges the wisdom of the Duke's advice, and submits to his guidance,—

"*Ciò che voi m' avete innarrato conosco apertamente esser vero ; e però disposto a seguire il vostro consiglio in quanto potrò mi dirizzo.*" [5]

In view of the common authorship and of the chronological relations of *Filocolo* and *Filostrato*, it is not likely that these two scenes were written independently of each other. That the passage in *Filocolo* is the earlier there can be no reasonable doubt. Any one who will compare Florio's dull recital of his love story [6] with Troilo's dramatic disclosure of his,[7] and who will note the list of "esempli" that the Duke arrays against Florio,[8] must admit that *Filocolo* at this point is far less mature than *Filostrato*. The most reasonable conclusion is, I think, that from suggestions in the sources of *Filocolo* [9] Boccaccio composed his account of the interview between Duke Feramonte and Florio, and that when the

[1] *Filocolo*, I, 214–215.
[2] *Id.*, I, 218.
[3] *Id.*, I, 219.
[4] *Id.*, I, 221.
[5] *Id.*, I, 222.
[6] *Id.*, I, 216–218.
[7] *Filostrato*, ii, 15–16, 19–20.
[8] *Filocolo*, I, 219–221.
[9] On the Duke's oversight of Florio according to the sources of *Filocolo*, see *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore* (edited by V. Crescini, Vol. II, Bologna, 1899), Stanzas xx, xxvii, lvi, lvii.    See Appendix B.    In connection with the friendly protestations of Pandarus and Faramonte see also *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*. XXII, 574, 584.

author came later to give an account of the first conversation of
Pandaro and Troilo in *Filostrato*, finding no adequate suggestions
in Benoit or in Guido, he adapted to his purpose this convenient
passage from *Filocolo*.

Of considerable importance to the progress of the story of
*Filostrato* is Pandaro's conveying of letters between the lovers.
This function of Pandaro's and its resemblance to the similar
function of a character in *Filocolo* will appear in the following
outline :

Having finished his first letter, Troilo hands it to his faithful
Pandaro, who delivers it immediately and secretly to Griseida,—

> ". . . per *ordin piegolla,*
> E sulle guance tutte lagrimose
> *Bagnò la gemma,* e quindi suggellolla,
> E nella mano a Pandaro la pose.
>
> .   .   .   .   .   .
> Pandaro presa la lettera pia
> N' andò verso Griseida . . ." [1]

To Griseida's inquiry for news Pandaro reports that Troilo is
dying for her love, and urges her to read and reply,—

> " Quindi disse Griseida : quale affare
> Or qui ti mena ? hai tu altre novelle ?
> Alla qual Pandar senza dimorare
> Disse : donna, per te l' ho buone e belle,
> Ma non tai per altrui, come mostrare
> Ti potran queste scritte tapinelle
> *Di colui, che per te mi par vedere*
> *Morir,* sì poco te ne è in calere.
>
> *Tolle, e vedralle diligentemente,*
> *Ed alcuna risposta il farà lieto.*
>
> .   .   .   .   .
> I' ho sì gran disio di confortarlo,
> *Che tu nol crederesti in fede mia,*
> *La tua risposta sol questo poria.*" [2]

Griseida writes as Pandaro suggests, and gives him the lettter to
carry to Troilo,—

> " La ripiegò, e suggellolla, e diella
> A Pandaro, il qual tosto il giovinetto
> Troilo cercando, a lui n'andò con ella,
> E presentogliel con sommo diletto." [3]

[1] *Filostrato*, ii, 107, 2-5 ; 108, 1-2.    [2] *Id.*, ii, 109, 1-110, 2 ; 119, 6-8.
[3] *Id.*, ii, 128, 2-5.  For other services of Pandaro in connection with letters,
see *Filostrato*, vii, 76, 1-2 ; viii, 3, 1-8.

Pandaro's manipulation of this exchange of letters may well have been suggested by the part of the "fedelissimo servidore" in *Filocolo*,[1] whose activity may be outlined as follows:

Florio puts his letter into the hands of his faithful servant, with careful instructions as to delivering it to Biancofiore,—

"Fatta la pistola, *Florio la chiuse piangendo, e suggellolla,* e chiamò a sè un suo fedelissimo servidore, il quale era consapevole del suo angoscioso amore, e così gli disse : o a me carissimo, sopra tutti gli altri servidori, te' la presente lettera, la quale è segretissima guardia delle mie doglie, e con istudioso passo celatamente a Biancofiore la presenti, e pregala che alla risposta niuno indugio ponga, perocchè per te l' attendo." [2]

To Biancofiore's inquiry for news the messenger replies that Florio is consumed by grief, and that he urges her to reply immediately,—

"Prese il servo la suggellata pistola, e quella con istudioso passo . . . presentò a Biancofiore occultamente : la quale come Biancofiore vide, primieramente con dolci parole dimandò come il suo Florio stesse : a cui il servo rispose : graziosa giovane, niuno sospiro è senza lui. *Egli si consuma in isconvenevole amaritudine.* . . . Per niuna [*i. e.*, cagione] credo, rispose il servo, se per amore di voi non è. Egli vi manda caramente *pregando che senza alcuno indugio alla presente pistola rispondiate ; ed io, se vi piacerà, attenderò la risposta.*" [3]

Biancofiore writes a reply and delivers it to Florio's servant, who hastily carries it to Florio,—

" *Colle amare lagrime bagnò la cara gemma, e suggellata quella,* con turbato aspetto uscì della camera a sè chiamando il servo, che già per troppa lunga dimoranza che far gli pareva si cominciava a turbare, al quale ella disse : porterai questa al tuo signore . . . E detto questo, piangendo baciò la lettera, e posela in mano al fedel servo, il quale senza alcuno indugio . . . trovò Florio nella sua camera . . . a cui egli porse la portata pistola, dicendogli ciò che da Biancofiore compreso avea e le sue parole." [4]

I shall have occasion later [5] to argue for the chronological priority of the episode in *Filocolo* of which these letters are a part. I conclude that the activities of Pandaro were to some extent suggested by the rôle of the "fedelissimo servidore" in *Filocolo*. If any one sees in this latter character influence from the "ami" of

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[1] *Filocolo*, I, 267- 9, 274–5.   [2] *Id.*, I, 267–8.
[3] *Id.*, I, 268.   [4] *Id.*, I, 274–5.
[5] See below, pp. 103–104.

Achilles in the *Roman de Troie*,[1] I have no objection,[2] for it is entirely likely that during the period when he was writing *Filocolo* Boccaccio was familiar with Benoit's poem.[3] However, the similarities between *Filocolo* and *Filostrato* in the matter under discussion, their common differences from the French poem at this point, and their chronological intimacy are sufficient evidence for the conclusion that certain of Pandaro's activities were immediately suggested by the "servidore" of *Filocolo*.

Pandaro's interview with Griseida[4] after she has heard of the proposed separation may have some relation to a similar scene in *Filocolo*.[5]    Says Griseida,

> "Grave m' è la partita, Iddio il vede,
> Ma più m' è di veder Troilo afflitto,
> E incomportabil molto, per mia fede,
> *Tanto ch' io ne morrò senza rispitto,*
> *E morir vo' senza sperar mercede."* [6]

When after this burst of grief the heroine falls prostrate, Pandaro begs her for her lover's sake to recover herself, assuring her that Troilo would kill himself should he find her in so desperate a plight,—

> ". . . Non prenderai alquanto
> Di conforto, pensando che vicina
> Sì è l' ora già, che quel ch' ami cotanto
> Ti sarà in braccio ?    Leva su, racconcia
> Te, ch' esso non ti trovi così sconcia.
>
> *Se el sapesse che così facessi,*
> *Esso s' uccideria,* nè il potrebbe
> Ritenerlo nessuno . . ." [7]

This situation resembles rather closely a scene between Glorizia and Biancofiore in *Filocolo* at the time of the parting of the young lovers.    Biancofiore despairingly apostrophizes Florio in such terms as these,

"Io non so com' io mi faccia, *nè come senza te possa vivere. Oimè,*

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[1] See above, pp. 53 ff.

[2] It should be noted, however, that the "ami" of Achilles carries no letters, and that he does not deal directly with the *innamorata*.

[3] References to the Troy story are frequent in *Filocolo*, especially in the earlier part of the work (Cf. *Filocolo*, I, 1, 9, 85, 95, 123, 132, 162, 278, 289, 298, 312, 317 ; II, 313).    It is not clear, however, that these references show an acquaintance with the *mediæval romance* versions of the story as well as with the *ancient epic* versions.    Cf. pp. 10 and 104.

[4] *Filostrato*, iv, 95–108.                         [5] *Filocolo*, I, 117–118.

[6] *Filostrato*, iv, 105, 1–5.                      [7] *Id.*, iv, 106, 4—107, 3.

*perchè non morii io ieri nelle tue braccia,* quando io fui sì presso alla morte. . . ."[1]

Glorizia bids her cease her desperate lamenting, lest she cause her lover to kill himself,—

". . . poni fine alle tue lagrime : vuo' tu piangendo guastare il tuo bel viso, e consumarti tutta? Tu ti dovresti ingegnare di rallegrarti, acciocchè la tua bellezza conservata multiplicasse sì, . . . Sicchè confortati, che *se Florio sapesse che tu questa vita menassi, egli s' ucciderebbe.*"[2]

One verbal detail in this part of Filostrato is worthy of comment. We are told that when Pandaro finds Griseida in the height of her grief,

> ". . . *intorno agli occhi un purpurino giro,*
> Dava vero segnal del suo martiro."[3]

We are reminded that in *Filocolo* the Duke finds Florio in so pitiable a plight that,

". . . *i suoi occhi* per le lagrime tornati rossi *erano di un purpureo colore intorniati,*"[4]—

a detail that recurs in the description of Florio's appearance when he visits the tomb which is reputed to contain the body of Biancofiore,—

". . . *i cui occhi aveano* per lo molto piangere *intorno a sè un purpureo giro.*"[5]

Although the ultimate source of this phrase is for Boccaccio probably Dante's *Vita Nuova,*—

"Dintorno loro [*i. e.,* gli occhi] si facea un colore purpureo, lo quale suole apparir per alcuno martirio ch' altri riceva,"[6]—

the recurrence of the phrase in *Filocolo* and *Filostrato* is worth noting.[7]

We have already noticed that Pandaro's discussions of dreams[8] have a slight parallel in a brief remark of Governale in the Tristan romance.[9] We must now turn our attention to more extensive

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[1] *Filocolo,* I, 118.   [2] *Id.,* I, 118.   [3] *Filostrato,* iv, 100, 7–8.
[4] *Filocolo,* I, 215.   [5] *Id.,* I, 335.
[6] *Vita Nuova,* Cap. XL. On Boccaccio's indebtedness to the *Vita Nuova,* see R. Renier, *La Vita Nuova e La Fiammetta,* Torino, 1879, pp. 217–341 ; A. Dobelli, *Il Culto del Boccaccio per Dante,* Venezia-Firenze, 1897 ; Savj-Lopez, *Romania,* XXVII, 443–4, 461, 464.
[7] See also *Fiammetta (Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio,* Vol. VI, Firenze, Moutier, 1829), pp. 90, 124, 173.
[8] See *Filostrato,* v, 29–33 ; vii, 36–45 ; viii, 19.   [9] See above, p. 47.

parallels in *Filocolo*. Pandaro's first vehement outburst against
the belief in dreams in general is as follows:

> " I sogni e le paure caccia via,
> In quel che son lasciali andar ne' venti ;
> Essi procedon da malinconia,
> E quel fanno veder che tu paventi ;
> Solo Iddio sa il ver di quel che fia,
> Ed i sogni e gli augurii, a che le genti
> Stolte reguardan, non montano un moco,
> Nè al futuro fanno assai o poco." [1]

When Troilo has recounted to Pandaro his dream of the boar,
Pandaro replies,

> " Io ti dissi altra volta, che follia
> Era ne' sogni troppo riguardare ;
> Nessun ne fu, nè è, nè giammai fia
> Che possa certo ben significare,
> Ciò che dormendo altrui la fantasia
> Con varie forme puote dimostrare,
> E molti già credettero una cosa,
> Ch' altra n' avvenne opposita e ritrosa.
>
> .     .     .     .     .     .     .
>
> Pria sottilmente si volea se vera
> Fosse saper, siccome tu potevi,
> E se falsa trovata, e non intera-
> Mente l' avessi, allora ti dovevi
> Dalla fede de' sogni e dallo inganno
> D' essi levar, che venieno a tuo danno." [2]

Duke Feramonte and Ascalione in *Filocolo* give similar counsel
concerning dreams to the love-lorn Florio. When the young lover
has revealed his dream of the birds,[3] Ascalione replies,

" Strane cose ne conta il tuo parlare, disse Ascalione, nè che ciò
si voglia significare non credo che mai alcuno conoscerebbe, e però
niuna malinconia te ne dee succedere. Manifesta cosa è, che
ciascuno uomo ne' suoi sonni vede mirabili cose e impossibili e strane,
dalle quali poi sviluppato si maraviglia, ma conoscendo i principii
onde muovono, quelle senza alcuno pensiero lascia andare : e però
quelle cose che ne conti che vedute hai siccome vane nella loro
vanità le lascia passare." [4]

On a previous occasion, when Florio has disclosed to him the vision
in which Venus has appeared, Ascalione replies dryly,

[1] *Filostrato,* v, 32, 1–8.      [2] *Id.,* vii, 40, 1–8 ; 42, 3–8.
[3] *Filocolo,* II, 23–26.      [4] *Id.,* II, 26–27.

" Non ti recare nella mente sì fatte cose, nè dare fidanza a' sogni, i quali per poco o per soverchio mangiare, o per immaginazione avuta davanti d' una cosa, sogliono le più volte avvenire, nè mai però se ne vide uno vero." [1]

On another occasion the Duke delivers to Florio pertinent advice on this subject,—

" Oimè, quanto più è da pensare della sanità, la quale i sonni interi e le malinconie lontane esser dimostra ; e però questo del tutto dei lasciare andare . . . E te più vinto da ira e da malinconia, che consigliato dalla ragione, cerchi la morte per conforto, e sempre in pensiero e in dolore dimori, e vai immaginando quelle cose le quali nè vedesti nè vedrai giammai, se agl' Iddii piace.   Folle è colui che per li futuri danni senza certezza spande lagrime, e in quelle più d' impigrire si diletta, che d' argomentarsi di resistere a' danni." [2]

We cannot tell to what extent the sources of *Filocolo* may have suggested such discussions of dreams as Boccaccio presents in his romance.   From the taste that he shows throughout *Filocolo*, we may surmise that Boccaccio amplified any suggestions in his sources concerning visions or supernatural interferences.   That bad dreams were not entirely absent from the story as it came to Boccaccio seems to be indicated in at least two places in *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore*,—

> " E stando un giorno Fiorio nel palaçio
> Tutto solo, *e molto isgomentato*
> Per uno forte sognio ch' avea fatto* " ; [3]

> " E Fiorio a quello punto avea dormito :
> *Con gran paura sì fue isvegliato.*" [4]

In neither of these instances in *Il Cantare*, however, is there any discussion of the dream that caused the disturbance.[5]   In any case, it is entirely probable that the passages on this subject in *Filocolo* were written before the similar passages in *Filostrato*, and there

[1] *Filocolo*, I, 157.         [2] *Id.*, I, 242–244.
[3] *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore*, edited by V. Crescini, Vol. II, Bologna, 1899, lxxvii, 1–3.
[4] *Il Cantare*, xxxvi, 1–2.
[5] No doubt Boccaccio had access to the standard treatises of his time on the subject of dreams.  Cf. Cicero, *De Divinatione*, i, 26–28 ; *Valerii Maximi Dictorum Factorumque Memorabilium Libri Novem*, i, 7 ; *Liber de Proprietatibus Rerum Bartholomei Anglici*, vi, 24–27 ; Albertus Magnus, *De Somno et Vigilia* (*Opera Omnia*, Tomus V, Lugduni, 1651, pp. 64–109) ; John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus*, ii, 14–16.  Cf. K. O. Petersen, *The Sources of the Nonne Prestes Tale*, Boston, 1898, pp. 101–116.

can be little doubt that Pandaro's remarks concerning dreams reflect
to some extent the observations of Duke Feramonte and Ascalione.

From the evidence before us [1] it is clear that the Pandaro of
Boccaccio is no mere repetition of a previous literary type.   We
have found some of his characteristics in Governale, in Galehout,
and in the guardians of Florio ; but no one of these previous literary
figures nor all of them combined will account for the courtly
cynical, devoted friend and pander of *Filostrato*.   The fact that
this character is so much more complex, more human, and more
real than any one of his literary predecessors might tempt us to
fall back upon our indeterminate autobiographical evidence [2] and
conclude that Boccaccio's Pandaro was a real person, and hence not
easily fitted into a category.   However, when one reviews the
comparisons drawn in the preceding pages and notes the number
of conventional elements in Pandaro's character, one is inclined to
infer that, although Boccaccio may really have had a devoted
pandering friend, the figure in *Filostrato* is largely the result of
the author's wide reading, and of his previous practice, in *Filocolo*,
with characters in some respects similar to Pandaro.

We have already observed that the separation of Troilo and
Griseida, brought about by King Priam's decision to exchange
the maiden for Antenor, is paralleled in *Filocolo* by the separation
of Florio and Biancofiore, arranged by King Felice as a check to the
growing passion of the young prince.   We need not be surprised
if in numerous occurrences and circumstances connected with
these separations Boccaccio's two works show striking similarities.
We may first turn our attention to some of the occurrences just
before the parting.   When Troilo comes to Griseida on the sad
eve of her departure, she is so overcome by grief that she faints.
After convincing himself by calling aloud and by examining her
body that Griseida is dead, Florio draws a weapon against his own
life ; but the opportune resuscitation of Griseida saves him from
suicide.[3]   The same scene, under precisely similar circumstances,
occurs in *Filocolo*,[4] where, after Biancofiore's fainting, Florio calls

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[1] In the part of this study immediately before us I have adduced only
passages that concern Pandaro in particular.   In the remaining part of the
present chapter I shall point out other similarities between *Filocolo* and
*Filostrato* in which Pandaro is involved, and which will, I think, strengthen
my present conclusion that in this character there are a considerable number
of echoes from *Filocolo*.

[2] See above, pp. 43–44.                            [3] *Filostrato*, iv, 116–142, 3.

[4] *Filocolo*, I, 113–115.

aloud, examines her body, draws his weapon, and is prevented
from suicide only by the opportune recovery of his *innamorata*.
A quotation of passages will make clear not only the general
resemblance of the two episodes, but also a considerable number
of verbal resemblances.   In *Filostrato* we read,

> " Poi gli *ricadde* col viso in sul petto
> *Venendo meno*, e le forze partirsi,
> *Da tanta doglia fu il suo cor costretto*,
> Ed ingegnossi l'alma di fuggirsi ;
> E Troilo guardando nel suo aspetto,
> *E lei chiamando*, e non sentendo udirsi,
> E gli occhi suo velati a lei cascante,
> *Che morta fosse gli porser sembiante.*

> Il che vedendo Troilo, angoscioso
> Di doppia doglia, la pose a giacere,
> Spesso baciando il viso lacrimoso,
> *Cercando se potesse in lei vedere*
> *Alcun segno di vita*, e doloroso
> Ogni parte tentava, ed al parere
> Di lui, di vita così sconsolata,
> Dicea piangendo, ch' era trapassata.

> *Ell' era fredda* e senza sentimento
> Alcun . . .

>   .    .    .    .    .    .
> E fatto questo, con animo forte
> *La propria spada del fodero trasse*,
> Tutto disposto di prender la morte,
> Acciocchè *il suo spirto seguitasse*
> *Quel della donna* con sì trista sorte,
> *E nell' inferno con lei abitasse*,
> Poichè aspra fortuna e duro amore
> Di questa vita lui cacciava fuore.

> Ma prima disse acceso d' alto sdegno :
> *O crudel Giove*, e tu fortuna ria,

>   .    .    .    .    .    .
> *Tolta m' avete Griseïda mia.*

>   .    .    .    .    .    .
> Ed io lascerò il mondo, e seguiraggio
> Con lo spirito lei  poichè 'l vi piace ;

>   .    .    .    .    .    .
> Poichè vedermi in vita non volete,
> L' anima mia almen con lei ponete.

>   .    .    .    .    .    .
> E tu, per cui tanto il dolor mi serra,

> E che dal corpo l' anima divelli,
> Ricevimi, Griseida volea dire,
> Già colla spada al petto per morire ;
>
> Quand' ella risentendosi, *un sospiro*
> *Grandissimo gittò*, Troilo chiamando ;
> A cui el disse : dolce mio disiro,
> *Or vivi tu ancora ?*   E lagrimando,
> *In braccio la riprese*, e'l suo martiro,
> Come potea, con parole alleggiando,
> *La confortò*, e l' anima smarrita
> Tornò al core, onde s' era fuggita." [1]

In *Filocolo* the account runs,

" Piangendo gli si gittò al collo, nè prima abbracciando s' aggiunsero, *che i loro cuori, da grieve doglia costretti* per la futura partenza, paurosi di morire a sè rivocarono i tementi spiriti, e ogni vena lì mandò il suo sangue a rendere caldo, e i membri abbandonati *rimasero freddi* e vinti, ed *essi caddero semivivi* . . . sicchè chi gli avesse veduti *più tosto morti che vivi giudicati gli avrebbe* . . [Florio] si dirizzò, e vide che questa non si movea, nè alcuno segnale di vita mostrava . . . temendo forte che la misera anima non avesse abbandonato il corpo, e mutato mondo, e con timida mano *cominciò a cercare se alcuna parte trovasse nel corpo calda* . . . cominciò piangendo a *baciarla*, e dicea : oimè, Biancofiore, or se'tu morta ?  Or dov' è la tua bella anima ? . . . Oimè, *come poterono gl' Iddii essere tanto crudeli* ch' egli abbiano la tua morte consentita ?  O Biancofiore, deh rispondimi.  Oimè, ch' *io sono il tuo Florio che ti chiama*. . . .  Oimè, che gl' Iddii manifestano bene ora che di me sono invidiosi, e hannomi in odio. . . . Or ecco, o anima graziosa, *ove che tu sii rallegrati, che io m' apparecchio di seguitarti*, e quali noi fummo di qua congiunti, *tali fra le non conosciute ombre in eterno amandoci staremo insieme*.  Una medesima ora e uno medesimo giorno perderà due amanti, e alle loro pene amare sarà principio e fine.  *E già avea posto mano sopra l' aguto coltello*, quando egli si chinò prima *per baciare il tramortito viso* di Biancofiore, e chinatosi il sentì riscaldato, e vide muovere le palpebre degli occhi, che con bieco atto riguardavano verso lui.  E già il tiepido caldo, che dal cuore rassicurato movea, entrando per li freddi membri, recando le perdute forze, addusse *uno angoscioso sospiro alla bocca* di Biancofiore, e disse, oimè.  Allora Floria udendo questo, quasi tutto riconfortato la riprese in braccio, e disse : o anima mia, or se' tu viva ?  Io m' apparecchiava di seguitarti nell' altro mondo." [2]

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[1] *Filostrato*, iv, 117, 1–119, 2 ; 120, 1–121, 2 ; 121, 4 ; 122, 1–2, 7–8 : 123, 5–124, 8.

[2] *Filocolo*, I, 113–115.  As I have already indicated (see above, p. 27, note 2), Crescini (*Contributo*, etc., p. 204, note) has drawn a parallel between

In view of the obvious similarities between these two passages, and in view of the common authorship and the chronological intimacy of *Filocolo* and *Filostrato*, probably no one will be inclined to maintain that these two scenes were written entirely independently.[1] When we attempt to determine which scene was written first, we observe at the outset that both the source of *Filocolo*[2] and the source of *Filostrato* provide a suggestion for such scenes as we have before us. In the French Version II of the romance of *Floire et Blanceflor* we are told simply that in their parting embraces the young lovers, Floire and Blancheflor, fell in a swoon,—

> " Lors s' entranbracent li enfant ;
> Cent foiz se baisent maintenant,
> Et quant il furent relevé,
> *En baisant chaïrent pasmé.*"[3]

Guido delle Colonne in his account of the parting of Troilus and Briseida writes,

" Et dum sic eam consolari Troilus anhelat, Briseida inter bracchia Troili labitur saepius semiviva ; quam, inter dulcia basia lacrimis irrorata flebilibus, ad vires sui sensus ea nocte reducere est conatus."[4]

Obviously neither of these sources provides more than a mere hint for the elaborate fainting scenes in *Filocolo* and *Filostrato*, and neither source gives us any suggestion as to which of Boccaccio's two scenes was written first. Nor is there any valid autobiographical argument that we can bring to bear on the

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the fainting scene in *Filostrato*, outlined above, and the passage in *Filocolo* (II, 113-114) in which Massalino, in proposing a "questione," tells the story of the resuscitation of a supposedly dead lady in the arms of her faithful lover. However, the resemblance here is so general as hardly to deserve consideration, and the circumstances of the occurrence are entirely different in the two cases. In the two passages that I have compared above, the circumstances, the general procedure, and many details are entirely similar.

[1] I do not pretend to decide in this case, or in any other, whether Boccaccio repeated details from one work to another consciously or unconsciously, from memory or with the earlier text before him. I maintain merely that when the repetitions are so numerous and so precise as those that we shall find occurring from *Filocolo* to *Filostrato*, they cannot be accidental.

[2] On the sources of *Filocolo*, see Appendix B.

[3] *Floire et Blanceflor*, edited by E. Du Meril, Paris, 1856, p. 134, ll. 229-302.

[4] *Historia Troiana*, sig. i 2 recto, col. 2. On the absence of any such incident in the *Roman de Troie*, see above. The word, *semiviva*, used by Guido, occurs twice in the part of *Filocolo* under consideration (" essi caddero *semivivi*," "*la semiviva*, Biancofiore," *Filocolo*, I, 114). This recurrence may suggest that Boccaccio was familiar with Guido's *Historia* during the period when he was writing *Filocolo*. I have already pointed out such a possibility in connection with Benoit's poem. See above, pp. 10, 62.

chronology at this point.[1]    The antecedent probability is that an
incident early in the story of *Filocolo*, and an incident suggested
in the source of *Filocolo* would have been written early,—earlier,
we should suppose, than the writing of the parallel incident in
*Filostrato*.    This antecedent probability is raised almost to a
certainty when we consider the style of the two passages before
us.   That the passage in *Filocolo* is the less mature and less skilful
there can be no doubt.   Although a scientific demonstration of
such a judgment is impossible, one or two points can be mentioned.

We may note in the first place the superior skill and impressive-
ness with which the incident is introduced in *Filostrato*.    When
the lovers meet on their last sad night together they are for some
time so choked with emotion that no words are possible.[2]    At
length, Griseida, with one bewildered sentence, swoons away,—

> " Con rotta voce, disse : o signor mio,
>   Chi mi ti toglie, e dove ne vo io ?
>
> Poi gli ricadde col viso in sul petto." [3]

In *Filocolo*, Biancofiore first launches off into two pages[4] of un-
becoming complaint and suspicion, and finally, after giving Florio
a magic ring,

> "dette queste parole, piangendo gli si gittò al collo." [5]

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[1] C. Antona-Traversi (*Il Propugnatore*, Vol. XVI, Parte II[a], pp. 416–417 ;
Vol. XVII, Parte I[a], pp. 59–65), from the similarity of the fainting scene in
*Filostrato* to certain passages in *Fiammetta* seems to infer that the accounts
are autobiographical.   Antona-Traversi does not notice the similar passage
in *Filocolo*, nor does he note that the sources both of *Filocolo* and of *Filostrato*
suggest such a scene.    It seems more reasonable to infer that in one of
Boccaccio's works a detail obviously suggested by the source of that work is
*not* autobiographical but merely an inevitable part of the composition in hand.
As Crescini has pointed out (*Contributo*, etc., p. 82, *et passim*), it is in the
places where Boccaccio departs from his sources that we may best look for
autobiographical disclosures.   Perhaps the most reasonable inference from
the facts before us is that Boccaccio described the fainting of Florio and
Biancofiore because his sources suggested such a description.   In writing
*Filostrato* soon after, he transferred (possibly from suggestions in Guido ;
see above, p. 9) this description into stanzas, of which there are echoes in
the still later *Fiammetta*.   If this fainting scene were autobiographical, we
might easily argue for the chronological priority of the version in *Filocolo*,
even without pointing out its literary crudities.   Such a scene would probably
have occurred in Boccaccio's life just before Maria left Naples for a prolonged
absence, during which absence we suppose *Filostrato* to have been written.
The record of an event that occurred before that absence would probably
appear first in the work then in process of composition, that is, in *Filocolo*,
for *Filostrato*, Boccaccio seems to tell us (see above, p. 29), was not under-
taken until some time after Maria had actually departed.   Fortunately,
however, the facts preclude such idle argumentation.

[2] *Filostrato*, iv, 115–116.                    [3] *Id.*, iv, 116, 7–117, 1.
[4] *Filocolo*, I, 112–113.                       [5] *Id.*, I, 113.

However, the excess of dulness and verbosity in *Filocolo* at this
point will appear only to him who reads the entire passage. As
another indication of the immaturity of the treatment of the
episode in *Filocolo*, I may remark that Troilo, in his despair at
the sight of Griseida's senseless body, has no time for such prosaic
observations as the following from Florio in a similar situation :

"Ma di questo male m' è più cagione il mio crudele padre, il
quale sì subitamente ha affrettata la mia partita.   O crudele padre,
tu l' avrai interamente : le parole da me dette stamattina ti saranno
dolente augurio, ed oggi ti faranno dolente portatore del fuoco, dove
tu miseramente ardere mi vedrai." [1]

The greater swiftness, simplicity, and finish of the treatment of the
whole episode in *Filostrato* will probably never be denied.

From the facts before us we may fairly conclude that from
suggestions in his sources Boccaccio wrote the elaborate and verbose
fainting scene in *Filocolo*. When he came later to describe the
parting of Troilo and Griseida, he simplified and vivified the
scene he had already written, and presented it in the stanzas of
*Filostrato*.[2]

In the section of the poem recounting the parting and elsewhere
in *Filostrato*, stress is laid upon the fact of Griseida's low birth.
When it occurs to Troilo to reveal his love to his father and to ask
that his *innamorata* be kept in Troy as his lady and wife, the young
lover rejects such a procedure on the ground that Priam, who is
designing a royal marriage for his son, will surely oppose his
devotion to the low-born Griseida,—

"Nè spero ancora ch' el dovesse darla,
Sì per non romper le cose promesse,
*E perchè la direbbe diseguale
A me, al qual vuol dar donna reale.*" [3]

This aspect of Troilo's problem, although mentioned earlier in the
poem,[4] is especially emphasized later by Cassandra, part of whose
taunt is as follows :

"E poichè pur così doveva andare,
*Di nobil donna fostu innamorato !
Che condotto ti se' a consumare
Per la figlia d' un prete scellerato,*

[1] *Filocolo*, I, 115.
[2] As I have already indicated (see above, p. 70, note 1), the introduction of
this scene into *Filostrato* may be due to a suggestion in Guido's *Historia*.
[3] *Filostrato*, iv, 69, 5–8.         [4] *Id.*, ii, 22, 1–8 ; 53, 1–3 ; 76, 1–3.

E mal vissuto e di piccolo affare :
*Ecco figliuolo d' alto re onorato,*
Che 'n pena e 'n pianto mena la sua vita,
Perchè da lui Griseida s'è partita ! " [1]

Troilo deftly replies that whatever Griseida's birth may be, she is noble, for she possesses those qualities that alone constitute true nobility,—

" Ma pognam pur che così fosse certo,
Ch' io per lei fosse in questa grave pena,
*Perchè non è Griseida in ciascun atto*
*Degna d' ogni grand' uom,* qual vuoi sia fatto ?

Io non vo' ragionar della *bellezza*
*Di lei, che al giudicio di ciascuno*
*Trapassa quella della somma altezza,*
Perocchè fior caduto è tosto bruno ;
Ma vegnam pure alla *sua gentilezza,*
La qual tu biasmi tanto, e qui ognuno
Consenta il ver se 'l dico, e l' altro il nieghi,
Ma il perchè, il prego, ch' egli alleghi.

*È gentilezza dovunque è virtute,*
Questo nol negherà niuno che 'l senta,
Ed elle sono in lei tutte vedute,
Se dall' opra l' effetto s' argomenta.

.    .    .    .    .    .    .
        .  .  .  *più onesta*
*Di costei nulla ne fia mai nè è suta ;*
E se 'l ver odo, sobria e modesta
È oltre all' altre, e certo la paruta
Di lei il mostra ; e similmente è questa
*Tacita ove conviensi e vergognosa,*
*Che in donna è segno di nobile cosa.*

Appar negli atti suoi la discrezione,

.    .    .    .    .    .    .
Che più, donna Cassandra, chiederete
In donna omai ? il suo sangue reale ?
*Non son re tutti quelli a cui vedete*
*Corona o scettro o vesta imperïale ;*
Assai fiate udito già l' avete,
Re è colui il qual per virtù vale,
Non per potenza : e se costei potesse,
Non cre' tu ch' ella come tu reggesse ? " [2]

The *Roman de Troie* and the *Historia Troiana* contain no hint of such a discussion of Griseida's " social standing " as we find in

*Filostrato*.  Neither Benoit nor Guido suggests that Briseida was
looked upon as of low birth and hence as an unworthy match for
Troilo, or that the young prince was called upon to enumerate and
defend her virtues.  On the contrary, from the few suggestions in
the French poem concerning Briseida's reputation and character,
we infer that before she succumbed to Diomedes she had a very
high place in the estimation and affection of the Trojans.  We
are told,

> " Calcas li sages, li corteis,
> Ot une fille mout preisiee,
> Bele e corteise e enseigniee :
> De li esteit grant renomee,
> Briseïda ert apelee." [1]

Again we are told,

> " Est franche e proz e sage e bele," [2]

and her father is spoken of as being "riche e haut." [3]  Clearly,
then, in his emphasis upon the low birth of Griseida, Boccaccio
is introducing an innovation into the story as he received it from
Benoit and Guido.

The source of this innovation is not far to seek.  In *Filocolo*, it
is the supposed low birth of Biancofiore that causes King Felice
to separate the young lovers.  At the time of the separation we
have from the king a condemnation of Biancofiore and an insist-
ence upon a royal marriage in terms precisely such as Troilo tells
us he feared from Priam.[4]  Says King Felice to the Queen,

" Certo io non mi dolgo che egli ami, ma duolmi di colei cui egli
ama, perchè alla sua nobiltà è dispari. *Se una giovane di reale
sangue* fosse da lui amata, certo tosto per matrimonio gliele
giugneremmo." [5]

Again, in conference with Florio the King says,

" Ma tu, benedetto figliuolo, non pensi quanta sia la viltà e il
biasimo degli uomini a tenere il tuo animo occupato in disporti ad
amare *così fatta femmina, come tu ami. . . . Deh ora ti fossi tu
d' una valorosa e gran donna simile alla tua nobiltà innamorato*,
assai mi dorrebbe, ma ancora mi sarebbe d' alcuna consolazione." [6]

Florio's reply to the King is as precise a parallel to Troilo's reply
to Cassandra [7] as we could expect in the turgid prose of *Filocolo*,—

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[1] *R. de T.*, 13086–13090.        [2] *Id.*, 13112.        [3] *Id.*, 13105.
[4] See *Filostrato*, iv, 69, 5–8.  Cf. vii, 87, 1–8.        [5] *Filocolo*, I, 85–86.
[6] *Id.*, I, 96–97.        [7] *Filostrato*, vii, 92–99, quoted in part above.

"Appresso dite che gravoso vi sembra pensando la qualità della femmina che io amo, perocchè popolaresca e serva la reputate. . . . *Sì conosciamo noi lei essere tanto gentile o più, quanto se d' imperiale progenia nata fosse,* se riguardiamo con debito stile che *cosa è gentilezza, la quale troveremo ch' è sola virtù d' animo,* e qualunque è quegli che coll' animo virtuoso si trova, quegli debitamente si può e dee dire gentile. E in cui si vide giammai *tanta virtù,* quanta in costei si trova e vede manifestamente? Ella è di tutte generalmente vera fontana. In lei pare la prudentissima evidenza della Cumana Sibilla ritornata, nè fu la casta Penelope più temperata di costei. . . . Questa è sommamente virtuosa, adunque è senza comparazione gentile. *Non fanno le vili ricchezze nè gli antichi regni, siccome forse voi essendo in uno errore con molti estimate, gli uomini gentili, nè degni posseditori de' grandi ujicii, ma solamente quelle virtù che costei tutte in sè racchiude.* . . . Questa ha in sè *una singulare bellezza* . . . la quale ognora che io la veggio m' accende nel cuore uno ardore virtuoso." [1]

In laying so much stress upon the supposed low birth of Biancofiore, Boccaccio is merely developing one of the central motives of the traditional story, as appears from the following lines from the French Version I of *Floire et Blanceflor:*

> " Li rois apercoit bien l'amor
> Que ses fius a vers Blanceflor :
> Moult forment crient en son corage,
> Quant Floires iert de tel éage
> Que feme devra espouser,
> Qu' il ne puisse de li torner.
> Es chambres vint a la roïne
> Conseil prendre de la meschine :
> S' ele li done a son talent,
> Ocirra la hastivement,
> *Puis querra, selonc son lignage,*
> *A son fil feme de parage.*

> .  .  .  .  .
> .  .  . ' *Car tel amor*
> *A vostre fius vers Blanceflor,*
> *Celle fille vostre caitive,*
> Que tout dient, tant comme iert vive,
> L'amor de li ne changera
> Ne autre feme ne prendra.
> Jou crains que ne soit aviliée
> Par li toute nostre ligniée.' " [2]

From the comparison presented above we can only conclude that the

[1] *Filocolo,* I, 98–99.
[2] *Floire et Blanceflor,* ll. 267–278, 287–294, pp. 12–13. Cf. Version II, ll. 241–248; *Il Cantare,* xix, 3–4.

story of Troilo and Griseida has been "contaminated" by a central
element in another story that Boccaccio certainly had in hand or
in mind when he was writing *Filostrato*. Although the innova-
tion is not entirely consonant with certain details of the episodic
story that Boccaccio received from Benoit and Guido, yet the
Italian author has so skilfully woven the new element into the
fabric of *Filostrato* that the intrusion, far from being conspicuous,
adds interest to a tale that in the *Roman de Troie* and the *Historia
Troiana* is all too bare of complication and incident.

Another interesting circumstance of Griseida's departure is the
discussion of the possibility of Troilo's abducting his lady.[1]   The
suggestion first comes from the ever-ready Pandaro, who says,

> " Perchè non prendi in quel che puoi riparo
> Alla tua vita, e via rapisci lei?
> *Paris andò in Grecïa e menonne*
> Elena, il fior di tutte l'altre donne.
>
> *E tu in Troia tua non ardirai*
> Di rapire una donna che ti piaccia?"[2]

Troilo rejects this proposal as a violation both of Griseida's honour
and of Priam's compact with the Greeks,—

> " Poi temo di turbar con violenta
> Rapina, il suo onore e la sua fama,
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .
> Pensato ancora avea di domandarla
> Di grazia al padre mio che la mi desse ;
> Poi penso questo fora un accusarla,
> E far palese le cose commesse ;
> Nè spero ancora ch' el dovesse darla,
> Sì *per non romper le cose promesse.*"[3]

Later, however, Troilo regrets not having fled with Griseida while
such a course of action was possible,—

> " Egli sè stesso ancor maladicea,
> Che sì l' aveva lasciata partire,
> E che 'l partito che preso n' avea,
> Cioè con lei di volersi fuggire,
> Non l' avea fatto, e forte sen pentea."[4]

When Troilo proposes to Griseida that they flee together she
promptly refuses, through respect for the same promises of Priam
to the Greeks,—

[1] See *Filostrato*, iv, 64–76, 143–153.   [2] *Id.*, iv, 64, 5—65, 2.
[3] *Id.*, iv, 68, 1–2 ; 69, 1–6.   [4] *Id.*, v, 18, 1-5.   Cf. v, 4, 7–8.

> " Ma ciò che d' andar via tu ragionavi,
> Non è savio consiglio al mio parere :
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .
> Che s' andassimo via, come parlavi,
> Tre cose ree ne potresti vedere,
> L' una *verrebbe per la rotta fede,*
> Che porta più di mal ch' altri non crede." [1]

Since Benoit and Guido contain no hint of such haggling over possible means for escaping separation, this part of *Filostrato* may reflect similar discussions in *Filocolo.* When it first occurs to Florio to oppose the will of the king and take Biancofiore with him, he rejects such a course of action as inconsistent with his promises to his father,—

" Or come mi potrò io mai partire senza Biancofiore ? . . . Di che aveva io paura ? . . . Nè niuna peggior cosa mi potea fare che cacciarmi da sè . . . e se pure fatta l' avesse, Biancofiore non sarebbe però rimasa, che meco ove che io fossi andato l' avrei menata . . . ma *poichè promesso l' ho, io v' andrò.*" [2]

Later, the young hero reproaches himself for not having abducted his *innamorata,*—

" Perchè non vo io, e entro nelle mie case e rapiscola, e menolami quassù meco ? . . . *Sono io più vile che Paris ? il quale non a casa del padre, ma de' suoi nemici andò per la desiderata donna.*" [3]

" Io tornerò a dispetto del mio padre a Marmorina, e solleciterò colli miei proprii occhi il cuore di Biancofiore, e quindi la fuggirò in parte ov' io senza paura d' alcuno potrò dimorar con lei." [4]

In *Filocolo,* as it is Florio who is being sent away, so it is Biancofiore who, resentful at the thought of being left behind, suggests that they oppose the paternal decree and go away together, a suggestion with which Florio refuses to comply, through respect for his promise to his father, and in the hope that eventually Bianco-

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[1] *Filostrato,* iv, 147, 1–2, 5–8.     [2] *Filocolo,* I, 104–5.
[3] *Id.,* I, 223, 224. Cf. *id.,* I, 147, where Florio in an apostrophe to Biancofiore says,

". . . se io devessi muovere aspre battaglie contro al vecchio padre, o furtivamente rapirti delle sue case."

[4] *Id.,* I, 280. Cf. Griseida's words in *Filostrato* (vi, 5, 1–3) :—

> " Oimè lassa ! or t' avess' io creduto,
> E *insieme tramendue fossimo giti*
> *Dove e in qual regno ti fosse piaciuto.*"

fiore may be allowed to rejoin him. Biancofiore apostrophizes Florio in these words,

". . . Ma oimè, che se 'l tuo amore non è falso, tu dovevi sofferire aspri tormenti, anzi che consentire di dovervi andare, o almeno, per consolazione di me misera, farviti quasi per forza menare. . . . Come ti sarà egli possibile il partirti senza me, se le tue parole a me dette per addietro non sono quali furono quelle del falso Demofoonte a Fillis."[1]

Again, Biancofiore says to Florio,

"Deh ora non pensi tu come tu m' abbandoni ? . . . Ma forse tu ti vuogli scusare che altro non puoi."[2]

Florio's excuse is less adequate than Griseida's,—

"Volevi tu che io con mio padre avessi sconce parole per quello che ancora si può ammendare ? "[3]

For these discussions Boccaccio undoubtedly found suggestions in the sources of *Filocolo*. In French Version II, Blancheflor urges Floire to take her away with him, but the young hero promptly refuses to disobey his father,—

> " ' Irai o vos ge ? '   ' Non, par foi.'
> ' Et por quoi donc ne velt le roi ?
> Et porroiz vos sanz moi garir ? '
> ' Bele, molt m'est grief a soffrir.' "[4]

Floire's respect for the promise he has given is shown in the lines,

> " Cil ne porent vers lui plus pranre ;
> *Lor covent lor covient atendre.*"[5]

With the evidence available, it is hardly possible to question the chronological priority of the part of *Filocolo* under discussion. The length, dulness, and crudity of the discussions between the hero and heroine, and the fact that the source of *Filocolo* contained suggestions for such discussions while the sources of *Filostrato* are

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[1] *Filocolo*, I, 102.  Cf. Griseida's words,

> " Oimè Troilo, or fia egli sofferto
> Da te vedermi gir, che non t' ingegni,
> Per amore *o per forza mi ritegni ?* "
>
> (*Filostrato*, iv, 91, 6–8.)

[2] *Filocolo*, I, 105, 107.                    [3] *Id.*, I, 109.
[4] *Floire et Blanceflor*, p. 134, ll. 295–298.
[5] *Id.*, p. 135, ll. 353–4.  For a longer and more tender treatment of this part of the story, see Konrad Fleck's *Flore und Blanscheflur* (edited by E. Sommer, Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1846), ll. 1042–1045, 1260–1287. On the sources of *Filocolo*, see Appendix B.

entirely lacking in such suggestions,—these considerations indicate
that the writing of this part of the romance preceded the writing
of *Filostrato*.

In *Filostrato*, both at the time of the parting and afterward,
much stress is laid upon Griseida's protestations, that with or
without her father's permission she will return to Troy within a
period of ten days,[1]—

> " Come saprà che io ci sia onorata,
> Più non curerà della mia tornata
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .
>
> Qui dunque rimandarmi egli è opportuno,
> Nè ben ci veggio contrario nessuno.
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .
>
> Seguiamo il corso suo, fingiti alcuna
> Andata in questo mezzo, e in quella manca
> Li tuoi sospiri, *ch' al decimo giorno*
> Senza alcun fallo qui farò ritorno.
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .
>
> Nè ti cappia nel cor ch' io sia sì stolta,
> Che non sappia trovare e modo e via
> Di ritornare a te, cui io più bramo
> Che la mia vita, e vie più troppo t' amo." [2]

Troilo, however, is doubtful as to Griseida's ever being able to
return to Troy,—

> " O pace o no, appena che tornarci
> Credo che Calcas ci voglia giammai,
> Perchè non crederia dovere starci
> Senza infamia del fallo, che assai
> Fu, se in ciò non vogliamo ingannarci ;
> E se con tanta istanza ti richiede,
> Ch' el ti rimandi appena vi do fede.
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .
>
> Temo che tu giammai non torni in Troia." [3]

When the term of ten days has expired, Troilo, after watching in
vain for Griseida's return, finally despairs,—

> " ' Ella mi disse *dieci dì starebbe*
> *Col padre, senza più starvi niente,*
> E poscia in Troia se ne tornerebbe ;
> Il *termine* è per questo dì presente :'
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .

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[1] Cf. *Filostrato*, iv, 131–141, 154–155 ; vii, 1, 13, 16, 54.
[2] *Id.*, iv, 134, 7–8 ; 135, 7–8 ; 154, 5–8 ; 159, 5–8.
[3] *Id.*, iv, 141, 2–8 ; 142, 8.

Sì che costor dopo molto badare,
Siccome fatto aveano il dì primiero,
Fatto già notte dentro si tornaro ;
Ma ciò a Troilo fu soverchio amaro ;

E la speranza lieta ch' egli avea
Quasi più non avea dove appiccarsi." [1]

Neither Benoit nor Guido mentions any promise of Briseida or of her father that she shall return to Troy, and still farther is either from mentioning a definite period of time for her absence. It seems likely that in *Filocolo* and in the sources of *Filocolo* Boccaccio got his suggestion for these particulars as they appear in *Filostrato*. According to *Filocolo*, when King Felice is about to send Florio to Montorio he promises to send Biancofiore also, as soon as the Queen shall have recovered from her illness,—

". . . e sì tosto come tua madre, la quale alquanto non sana è stata come tu puoi vedere, avrà intera sanità ricuperata, io la ti manderò a Montorio," [2]—

a promise which Florio conveys to Biancofiore with additional assurances,—

"Egli m' ha promesso di mandarmiti, la qual cosa se egli non lo fa io volgerò tosto i passi indietro, perocchè io so bene che vivere senza te non potrei lungamente." [3]

Biancofiore, however, is sceptical as to the King's sincerity in such a promise, for she says frankly to Florio,

". . . vane e false parole del tuo padre, il quale ti promise di mandarmi a te.   Certo egli nol farà giammai." [4]

Yet, at all odds, Biancofiore is determined to join her lover,—

"Io allegra sarò s' a te mi manderanno, e se non sarò mandata io vi pure verrò." [5]

After waiting a sufficiently long time for Biancofiore to come, Florio says despairingly,

"Egli m' impromise più volte di mandarmi qua Biancofiore brevemente, e mai mandata non me l' ha.   Oimè che ora conosco il manifesto suo inganno, e truovo che vere sono le parole che Biancofiore mi disse, dicendo che mai non ce la manderebbe." [6]

[1] *Filostrato*, vii, 13, 1–4 ; 14, 5–15, 2.       [2] *Filocolo*, I, 97.
[3] *Id.*, I, 109.                                   [4] *Id.*, I, 107.
[5] *Id.*, I, 104.                                   [6] *Id.*, I, 123.

It is clear enough that the situation in *Filocolo* just outlined closely resembles the parallel situation in *Filostrato*. However, there is in the earlier work no suggestion from which Boccaccio should have specified ten days as the definite period of Griseida's proposed absence from Troilo. This detail in *Filostrato* may be due to the sources of *Filocolo*. In the *Flore und Blanscheflur* of Konrad Fleck, for example, we are told that the period set for the separation of the lovers was ten days,—

> "dar zuo sulent ir im sagen
> daz ir im in *zehen tagen*
> sîne gespil sendent nâch.
>
> .    .    .    .    .
>
> ach wie vaste in begunde
> der *zehen tage* belangen." [1]

There is certainly no improbability in the hypothesis that Boccaccio is here using in *Filostrato* a detail from the sources of *Filocolo* that he omitted from the latter work. [2]

During their last hours together, Troilo and Griseida exchange mutual warnings against new loves and mutual assurances of fidelity. [3] This particular circumstance has an obvious parallel in Benoit's account of the parting of Troilus and Briseida,—

> "Ne li fine hore de preier
> Qu'il ne l'oblit, quar a sa vie
> Ne sera ja autrui amie ;

[1] *Flore und Blanscheflur*, by Konrad Fleck, ll. 1009–1011, 1414–1415. See Appendix B. In French Version I the period set is a fortnight,—

> " Et moult tres-bien l'asséurez
> Qu'ains quinze jors li trametrez "
> (*Floire et Blanceflor*, p. 15, ll. 337–8).

In French Version II the period set is four days,—

> " Alez vos en jusqu'a quart jor ;
> Vos envoiërai Blancheflor " (*id.*, p. 135, ll. 349–350).

[2] The source that Boccaccio followed when he wrote (*Filocolo*, I, 97), "Sì tosto come tua madre . . . avrà intera sanità ricuperata, io la (*i. e.*, Biancofiore) ti manderò," is evidently represented by the lines in French Version I,—

> " Sa mere malade se faigne ;
> Por li garder, cele remaigne "
> (*Floire et Blanceflor*, p. 15, ll. 335–6),

and by the lines in *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore*,—

> "la tua madre lasila guarire,
> Poi Biancifiore ti farò venire " (*Il Cantare*, xxii, 7–8).

[3] See *Filostrato*, iv, 142–143, 146, 162–166.

> S'amor toz jorz li guardera,
> Ja mais jor autre ne l'avra,
> Ne rien n'avra joie de li :
> ' Bele,' fait il, ' or vos en pri,
> S'onc m'amastes, ore i pareisse !
> Ne vueil que nostre amor descreisse :
> De meie part vos di jo bien
> Qu'el n'apeticera de rien.
> Mon cuer avreiz toz jorz verai,
> Ja por autre nos changerai.' " [1]

Whatever suggestions Boccaccio may have taken from this passage for his elaborate treatment of the parallel situation in *Filostrato*, he seems here to echo also numerous details from *Filocolo*.[2] There appears to be nothing in the French passage that could not have come into *Filostrato* equally well from *Filocolo*, whereas the latter work provides not only a more extended treatment of this phase of the story, but also some details that could not have come from the *Roman de Troie*. The nature of Griseida's appeal to Troilo is shown in the following lines :

> " ' E pregoti, mentr' io sarò lontana,
> Che prender non ti lasci dal piacere
> D' alcuna donna, o da vaghezza strana ;
> Che s' io 'l sapessi, dei per certo avere
> Che io m' ucciderei siccome insana,
> Dolendomi di te oltra 'l dovere.' " [3]

This appears to be a rendering in verse of part of Biancofiore's turgid speech to Florio under similar circumstances,—

" Solamente a' tuoi occhi poni freno quando *le vaghe giovani* scalze vedrai andare per le chiare fontane . . . cantando amorosi versi . . . perchè *se io sentissi che alcuna colla sua bellezza di nuovo t' infiammasse, come furiosa* m' ingegnerei di venire dove tu ed ella foste ; *e se io la trovassi, colle proprie mani la squarcerei, nè nel suo viso non lascerei parte che graffiata non fosse dalle mie unghie, nè niuno ordine v' avrebbe a' composti capelli che io tutti tirandogliele di capo non lo rompessi ; e dopo questo, per vituperevole ed eterna sua memoria, co'* proprii denti del naso la priverei, *e questo fatto me medesima ucciderei.*" [4]

In reply to Griseida's warning, Troilo gives her an assurance of fidelity which may well have been reduced from Florio's assurances

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[1] *R. de T.*, 13498–13510.  Guido has no explicit parallel.  Cf. *Historia Troiana*, sig. i 2 recto, col. 2—verso, col. 1.

[2] See *Filocolo*, I, 108, 112–113, 116–117.

[3] *Filostrato*, iv, 162, 1–6.  Cf. iv, 142, 1–3.

[4] *Filocolo*, I, 112–113.

in a similar situation in *Filocolo*.[1]    The similarities at this point
perhaps justify brief quotations.    In enforcing his promises to
Griseida, Troilo assures her that no mean or superficial qualities in
her have aroused and held his love,—

> " Ma gli atti tuoi altieri e signorili,
>   Il valore *e 'l parlar cavalleresco*,
>   *I tuoi costumi più ch' altra gentili*,
>   Ed il vezzoso tuo sdegno donnesco,
>   *Per lo quale apparien d' esserti vili*
>   *Ogni appetito ed oprar popolesco*,
>   Qual tu mi se', o donna mia possente,
>   Con amor mi ti miser nella mente." [2]

Florio compliments his *innamorata* in similar terms,—

   " Niuna virtù pare difetto, nè *belli costumi fecero mai più
gentilesca creatura* nell' aspetto che i tuoi, senza falla buoni fanno
te . . . *E la dolcezza della tua lingua* farebbe maggiori cose che
non fece la cetera del tratio poeta o del tebano Anfione." [3]

Previously in describing Biancofiore's virtues to his father Florio
has said,—

" Niuna volta è che io i suoi lucentissimi occhi riguardi, *che di
me non fugga ogni vile intendimento*." [4]

   Apparently there is no reason for doubting that the mutual
warnings and assurances of Florio and Biancofiore were written
before the parts of *Filostrato* with which I have compared them.
The turgidity of the few passages of *Filocolo* that I have quoted
are an indication of the stylistic inferiority of this part of the
romance to the related parts of *Filostrato* ; and there is no evidence
at this point to invalidate the stylistic criterion.

   In no one of the extant documents that represent the sources of
*Filocolo*[5] is there so explicit a warning from the heroine as that
which Boccaccio assigns to Biancofiore ; but in these documents
there are suggestions that may have served the Italian author.
Biancofiore's prediction that Florio will be carnally tempted by
other maidens at Montorio may be an adaptation of such suggestions
as we find in French Version I, where we are told that Dame

[1] See *Filocolo*, I, 108, 116–117 ; *Filostrato*, iv, 163–166.
[2] *Filostrato*, iv, 165, 1–8.                    [3] *Filocolo*, I, 108.
[4] *Id.*, I, 99.  On *Florio's* enumeration to King Felice of Biancofiore's
virtues, see above, p. 74.
[5] See Appendix B.

Sebile at Montoire will provide maidens to relieve Florio of his
love of Biancofiore,—

> " Aprendre l'en-maine Sebile
> O les puceles de la vile,
> Savoir se il l'oublïeroit
> Et en l'escole autre ameroit " ; [1]

> " Des qu'ele l'ocoison sara,
> S'ele puet, oblier li fera
> La crestïene Blanceflor,
> Par le confort d'une autre amor." [2]

Such warning and protestation as that of Biancofiore and Florio
respectively is also clearly implied in Konrad Fleck's poem, where,
after Blanscheflur's despairing and reproachful words at the parting,
Flore responds,—

> " ' È wurd ich in unsinne,
> ê daz ich iuch vermite.
> Er möhte lâzen den site,
> wil er daz ich iuch lâze.
> sô pflaege ouch ich der mâze
> als valsche minnaere.
> wie unfriuntlich daz waere !
> und ob ich würde versant
> in daz zweinzigeste lant,
> vergaeze ich iuwers lîbes
> durch minne eins andern wîbes,
> durch daz ich iwer nien saehe,
> und ob mir daz geschaehe,
> des wolt ich iemer trûric sîn.' " [3]

From the facts now before us I conclude that in composing the
part of *Filostrato* that recounts the parting of the lovers, Boccaccio
adapted numerous particulars from his own previous account of
a similar parting in *Filocolo*, most of which particulars have no
possible basis in the immediate sources of *Filostrato*, but are clearly
derivable through *Filocolo* from the sources of *Filocolo*.

Let us now consider the similarities between *Filocolo* and
*Filostrato* in the occurrences after the parting of the lovers.
Boccaccio's extended account of Troilo's condition after Griseida's
departure [4] and of Pandaro's relation to him at this time has no

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[1] *Floire et Blanceflor*, p. 16, ll. 363–366.        [2] *Id.*, p. 14, ll. 319–322.
[3] *Flore und Blanscheflur*, ll. 1284–1297.    Cf. Crescini, *Contributo*, etc.,
p. 203, note 4.
[4] See *Filostrato*, v, 15–28.

parallel in the *Roman de Troie*[1] or in the *Historia Troiana*.[2] In *Filostrato* we are told that Troilo spends a long time alone in his room, mourning and cursing, calling up images of his past happiness with Griseida and expressing fears as to her constancy. When Pandaro comes, Troilo continues his complaint to him. In like manner Florio mourns at Montorio, curses his fate, calls up images of his past happiness, worries as to his lady's fidelity, and shares his grief with Duke Feramonte and Ascalione.[3] In addition to these general resemblances, certain similarities in thought and phrase may be pointed out.

| *Filostrato* | *Filocolo* |
|---|---|
| | **1** |
| *El bestemmiava* il giorno che fu nato, *E gli dei* e *le dee* e la *natura*, *E 'l padre*.[4] | *Maladetta sia quella deità che sì m' ha fatto vile*.[5] Ma di questo non n' ha colpa se non l' *empia iniquità del mio padre, il quale gl' Iddii consumino*.[6] |
| | **2** |
| Egli *sè stesso ancor maladicea*, *Che sì l'aveva lasciata partire*.[7] | *Maladetto* sia quel giorno *che io da te mi partii*.[8] |
| | **3** |
| . . . vogliendo rispetto Avere alla passata, s' io comprendo Qual' ora è ; tal fiata il bianco petto, La bocca, e gli occhi, e 'l bel viso baciava Della mia donna, e spesso l'abbracciava ; Ella baciava me . . .[9] | Egli immaginava alcuna volta avere Biancofiore nelle sue braccia, e porgerle amorosi baci, e altrettanti riceverne da lei e parlare con essa amorose parole.[10] . . . mi ricordo che in sì fatto giorno più volte t' ho già abbracciata, porgendoti puerili e onesti baci.[11] |
| | **4** |
| Chi ti ved'ora, dolce anima bella ? Chi siede teco, cor del corpo mio ? Chi t' ascolta ora, chi teco favella? . . . . . . Di' che fa' tu ? or étti punto nella Mente di me, o messo m' hai in oblio ?[12] | O anima mia, dolce Biancofiore, che fai tu ora ? Ricorditi tu di me, siccome io fo di te ? Io dubito molto che altro piacere non ti pigli per la mia assenza.[13] |

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[1] Benoit says merely (*R. de T.*, 13527–8),

"En lui ne ra joie ne ris :
Mout s'en torne trisz e pensis."

[2] Guido tells us nothing concerning Troilus' condition at this time. Cf. *Historia*, sig. i 2 recto, col. 2—verso, col. 1.

[3] *Filocolo*, I, 121–124, 146–159, 211–225.      [4] *Filostrato*, v, 17, 5–7.

[5] *Filocolo*, I, 147.      [6] *Id.*, I, 123.

[7] *Filostrato*, v, 18, 1–2.      [8] *Filocolo*, I, 147.      [9] *Filostrato*, v, 19, 4—20, 1.

[10] *Filocolo*, I, 223.      [11] *Id.*, I, 146.      [12] *Filostrato*, v, 25, 1–6.

[13] *Filocolo*, I, 146.  Florio's expressions in this part of *Filocolo* must have had some basis in the sources of *Filocolo*. Cf. *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore*, xxv, 7–8,—

One of Pandaro's first expedients for alleviating Troilo's grief over Griseida's departure is his proposal of a visit to the gay household of Sarpedon.[1]   The splendid entertainments provided there and their effect upon Troilo are precisely paralleled in Florio's experience at the gay house of Duke Feramonte, where he has been sent in the hope that he may forget Biancofiore.[2]   Sarpedon's mode of entertaining is shown in the following lines:

> "*Il quale* [*i. e.*, Sarpedon] *come il seppe, incontro fassi*
> *A Troilo lieto, e molto gli fu caro.*
> Li quali, avvegna che de' fosser lassi
> Del molto sospirar, *pur lietamente*
> *Festa fer grande col baron possente.*
>
> Costui, siccome quel che d' alto cuore
> Era più ch' altro in ciascheduna cosa,
> Fece a ciascun maraviglioso onore
> *Or con cacce* or con festa grazïosa
> *Di belle donne e di molto valore,*
> *Con canti e suoni,* e sempre con pomposa
> Grandezza di conviti tanti e tali,
> Che 'n Troia mai non s' eran fatti eguali." [3]

The hunting, music, beautiful women and magnificent feasts of Sarpedon seem to be echoes of the entertainments provided by Duke Feramonte to distract the mind of Florio.   The nature of the gaieties of Montorio is shown in the following:

"*Il duca Feramonte, che la sua venuta avea saputa, contento molto di quella, con molti nobili uomini della terra, s' apparecchiò di riceverlo onorevolmente* . . . accompagnati da molti stromenti e varii, e coronati tutti di diverse frondi bagordando, e colla festa grande gli vennero incontro, *facendo risonare l'aere di molti suoni.* . . . Ogni uomo di qualcunque età facea festa, *e simile le*

> "Ma Fiorio pure indrieto si mirava
> per Biancifior che cotanto l' amava" ;

*Id.*, lvii, 5–8,—

> "E Fiorio dice : io mi vorei posare,
>
> .      .      .      .      .      .
>
> di ber nè di mangiar non metto cura :
> per Biancifiore vivo in gran paura" ;

*Floire et Blanceflor*, p. 16, ll. 360–362,—

> "Mais ne li chaut de riens qu'il oie :
> Por Blanceflor qu'il n'a, s'amie,
> En non-chaloir a mis sa vie."

[1] See  *Filostrato*, v, 38–50.        [2] See *Filocolo*, I, 119–125, 211–215.
[3] *Filostrato*, v, 40, 4—41, 8.

*donne cantando* versi d' amore e di gioia. . . . Adunque la sua festa
era senza comparazione in Montorio. . . . Altre volte con cani
e con forte arco nelle oscure selve *caccia i paurosi cervi*, e nelle
aperte pianure i volanti uccelli gli fanno vedere *dilettevoli cacce*." [1]

But Troilo, we are told, takes no interest in the entertainments
provided for him,—

> " Ma che giovavan queste cose al pio
> Troilo che 'l core ad esse non avea ?
> Egli era là dove spesso il disio
> Formato nel pensier suo nel traea,
> E Griseida come suo iddio
> Con gli occhi della mente ognor vedea.
> .        .        .        .        .        .
> Ogni altra donna a veder gli era grave,
> Quantunque fosse valorosa e bella ;
> Ogni sollazzo ogni canto soave
> Noioso gli era non vedendo quella,
> Nelle cui mani amor posto la chiave
> Avea della sua vita tapinella.
> .        .        .        .        .        .
> Nessuna ora del giorno trapassava
> Che non la nominasse mille fiate ;
> Sempre il suo nome in la bocca li stava,
> E 'l suo bel viso e le parole ornate
> Nel cuore e nella mente figurava." [2]

In a similar state is Florio in the midst of the gay life of Montorio,—

" Florio simigliantemente a niuna cosa stando a Montorio aveva
tanto l' intendimento fisso quanto alla sua Biancofiore, nè era da lei
una volta ricordato che egli non ricordasse lei infinite," [3]

" Andavano prendendo diletto, mostrando a Florio alcuna volta
queste cose, le quali molta più noia gli davano che diletto : perocchè
egli alcuna volta immaginando andava d' essere stretto dalle dilicate
braccia di Biancofiore . . . le quali immaginazioni sovente col
mostrarli le cacce gli erano rotte . . . nè niuno ragionamento era
mai se non d' amore o della bellezza della sua Biancofiore, la quale
sopra tutte le cose disiava di vedere." [4]

Boccaccio's account of these attempts to divert Florio and of
Florio's indifference is firmly based upon the sources of *Filocolo*, as
we find when we read *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore*.   Accord-
ing to this poem, when Fiorio sets out on his exile, the diversions
begin,—

[1] *Filocolo*, I, 119–120, 211–212.    [2] *Filostrato*, v, 42, 1–6 ; 43, 1–6 ; 45, 1–5.
[3] *Filocolo*, I, 121.                              [4] *Id.*, I, 119, 121.

> . " e seco van dongelli e cavalieri ;
> da bella gente ell' era aconpagniato,
> astori e brachi e falconi e livrieri,
> per confortallo e ch' andasse alegrato." [1]

But Fiorio thinks only of his *innamorata*,—

> " ma Fiorio pure indietro si mirava
> per Biancifior che cotanto l'amava." [2]

When the young prince approaches Montorio, he is royally received by the duke,—

> " Un mesagiere al duca fu mandato,
> che gli venisse incontro a fare onore ;
> e' l duca imantenente fu montato
> a palafreno anbiante e coridore.
> da molta gente ell' era aconpagniato :
> conti e baroni v' andar per suo amore,
> asti e bandiere e bigordi ispeciando,
> inverso Fiorio con tronbe sonando." [3]

Even the duke's elaborate festivities make no impression upon Fiorio,—

> " E non vale nè giuoco nè sollaccio
> che Fiorio si potese alegrare." [4]

After leaving the gay Sarpedon, Troilo suggests that he and Pandaro seek comfort in merely going to look upon the house where Griseida has lived.[5] Eluding their companions, they reach the house, where Troilo is depressed anew by the closed doors and the darkness,—

> " E' gli parve che il cor gli si schiantasse
> Poi veduta ebbe la porta serrata
> E le finestre." [6]

Similarly one night during his stay at the house of Duke Feramonte, Florio slips away and finds solace in merely seeing the closed house where Biancofiore is confined,—

". . . la notte non dormiva, ma furtivamente e solo se n'andava infino alle porti del palagio del suo padre . . . e quivi giunto, si

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[1] *Il Cantare*, xxv, 3–6.      [2] *Id.*, xxv, 7–8.
[3] *Id.*, xxvi, 1–8.   Cf. *Floire et Blanceflor*, p. 16, ll. 335–359.
[4] *Il Cantare*, xxvii, 1–2.   Cf. *Floire et Blanceflor*, p. 16, ll. 360–362. Antona-Traversi (*Il Propugnatore*, XVI, Parte II[a], pp. 273–4) in assigning autobiographical significance to Troilo's indifference to the festivities about him, overlooks, among other things, the similar account in *Filocolo* and in the sources of *Filocolo*.
[5] See *Filostrato*, v, 50–53.      [6] *Id.*, v, 52, 1–3.

poneva a sedere e con sospiri e con pianto più volte le baciava,
dicendo : o ingrate porti, perchè mi tenete voi che io non possa
appressarmi al mio disio, il quale dentro da voi serrato tenete ?"[1]

After seeing Griseida's house, Troilo finds morbid pleasure in
visiting the places in Troy with which the maiden is in any way
associated,—

> " Quindi sen gì per Troia cavalcando,
> E ciascun luogo gliel tornava a mente ;
> De' quai con seco giva ragionando ;
> Quivi rider la vidi lietamente ;
> Quivi la vidi verso me guardando ;
> Quivi mi salutò benignamente ;
> Quivi far festa e quivi star pensosa,
> Quivi la vidi a' miei sospir pietosa.
>
> Colà istava, quand' ella mi prese
> Con gli occhi belli e vaghi con amore ;
> Colà istava, quando ella m'accese
> Con un sospir di maggior fuoco il core ;
> Colà istava, quando condiscese
> Al mio piacere il donnesco valore ;
> Colà la vidi altiera, e là umile
> Mi si mostrò la mia donna gentile."[2]

This passage may easily be regarded as a development of suggestions
already present in *Filocolo*.  In a letter to Biancofiore, Florio writes,

" Tu rimanesti nelle nostre case *visitando i luoghi dove più fiate
stati eravamo insieme*, e in quelli con sì fatta ricordanza prendevi
alcun diletto immaginando,"[3]—

words that are well in accord with what we have previously been
told of Biancofiore's conduct,—

" . . . ella partendosi, andava in tutti quegli luoghi della casa dov'
ella si ricordava d'avere già veduto Florio."[4]

We cannot tell to what extent Boccaccio may have followed
suggestions in his sources in his account of Florio's secret visit to
the abode of Biancofiore and of the heroine's lingering at the spots
that were dear to her and Florio.  The sources of *Filocolo* must
have contained suggestions of Florio's leaving Montorio to visit
Marmorina, for in French Version II we read,

> " Quant il ne voit venir s'amie,
> Sachoiz segurs ne fu il mie ;

[1] *Filocolo*, I, 124.
[2] *Filostrato*, v, 54, 1-55, 8.
[3] *Filocolo*, I, 263.
[4] *Id.*, I, 120.

> Vient a son maistre, prant congié,
> Puis est el palefroi puié.
> Puiant en-vient vers la cité." [1]

The other details of *Filocolo* to which we have just referred we
may attribute to Boccaccio's own elaboration.[2]   In any case there
is nothing to contradict the stylistic indication that these parts of
*Filocolo* were written before the parallel passages in *Filostrato*.

Boccaccio tells us that Troilo sometimes mounts the gate whence
Griseida issued, that he looks longingly out toward the Greek
camp where she is detained, and that as he looks, he imagines that
the breezes blowing against his face are sighs sent from Griseida,—

> " El se ne gia talvolta in sulla porta
> Per la qual' era la sua donna uscita :
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .
> Quindi n'andasti, cor del corpo mio ;
> Quando sarà che tu quindi ritorni,
> Caro *mio bene* e *dolce mio disio ?*
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .
> El riguardava li Greci attendati
> Davanti a Troia, e come già turbarsi
> Vedendoli solea, così mirati
> Con diletto eran ; e *ciò che soffiarsi*
> *Sentia nel viso, sì come mandati*
> *Sospiri di Griseida solea darsi*
> A *creder fosser*, dicendo sovente :
> O qua o quivi è mia donna piacente." [3]

This passage appears to be a direct adaptation of the account in
*Filocolo* of a similar experience of Biancofiore, left behind in
Marmorina,—

" Biancofiore così rimasa, alquanto da Glorizia riconfortata, ogni
giorno andava molte fiate sopra l'alta casa, in parte ov' ella vedeva
Montorio apertamente, e a quello riguardando, dopo molti sospiri
aveva alcun diletto, immaginando e dicendo fra sè medesima : *là è*
*il mio disio e il mio bene.* E talvolta avvenia, che stando ella *sentia*
*alcuno soave e piccolo venticello venire da quella parte,* e *ferivala*
*per mezzo della fronte,* il quale ella con aperte braccia riceveva nel

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[1] *Floire et Blanceflor,* pp. 142–3, ll. 615–619.
[2] Antona-Traversi (*Il Propugnatore,* XVI, Parte IIª, pp. 268–9, 406) attaches
autobiographical significance to the account of Troilo's visiting the house of
Griseida and other places in Troy with which they both had associations.
Antona-Traversi's ground for such an interpretation is the general resemblance
of these passages to passages in the later *Fiammetta.* One cannot tell whether
or not this scholar would have altered his interpretation had he noted the
similar passages in the earlier *Filocolo.*
[3] *Filostrato,* v, 58, 1–2 ; 59, 1–3 ; 70, 1–8.

suo petto, dicendo : *questo venticello toccò il mio Florio come egli fa ora me avanti che egli giungesse qui.*" [1]

From the Greek camp Griseida looks back upon the walls and towers of Troy, longing for Troilo,—

> " *Ella mirava le mura di Troia,*
> E' palagi, *le torri* e le fortezze,
> E dicea seco : oimè, quanta gioia,
> Quanto piacere e quanto di dolcezze
> N'ebb' io già dentro ! ed ora in trista noia
> Consumo qui le mie care bellezze :
> Oimè, Troilo mio, che fa' tu ora,
> Ricordati di me niente ancora ?" [2]

In like manner Florio looks back upon the towers and buildings of Marmorina,—

"Siccom' io similmente stetti sempre *con gli occhi all' alta torre,* ove te immaginava essere salita, per veder te." [3]

" Così egli [*i.e.,* Florio] riguardava sovente Marmorina . . . andava [*i.e.,* Florio] il giorno senza alcuno riposo *cercando gli alti luoghi da' quali egli potesse meglio vedere la sua paternale casa, ove egli sapeva che Biancofiore dimorava.*" [4]

In his despair, we find Troilo asking news concerning Griseida from every one who comes to Troy,—

> " . . . e tutti riguardato
> Avea color che di ver la riviera
> Venieno a Troia, ed alcun domandato
> Per nuove circostanze, e non avea
> Nulla raccolta di ciò che chiedea." [5]

Similarly, Biancofiore questions all who come to Marmorina from Montorio,—

" E niuna persona veniva da Montorio, che ella o tacitamente o in palese non dimandasse del suo Florio." [6]

From the extant documents representing the sources of *Filocolo* we cannot tell whether or not the last three passages of *Filocolo* to which we have referred are Boccaccio's own elaboration of the story. Whether or not they have a literary source, there is no reason for doubting that they were composed before the parallel passages of *Filostrato.*

[1] *Filocolo,* I, 120.
[2] *Filostrato,* vi, 4, 1–8.
[3] *Filocolo,* I, 263.
[4] *Id.,* I, 121, 124.
[5] *Filostrato,* vii, 6, 4–8.
[6] *Filocolo,* I, 120.

Troilo imputes to Griseida's father the blame for her long
detention in the Greek camp,—

> " Parmi, se 'l tuo consiglio ho bene a mente,
> Che potuto abbiano in te le paterne
> Lusinghe . . .
> . . . o quel che rado ci si scerne
> Vecchio divenir largo, che 'l tegnente
> Calcas cortese sia, dove l' interne
> Tue intenzion mi mostraro il contrario
> Nell' ultimo tuo pianto e mio amaro." [1]

In the same way, Florio complains of King Felice's restraining
Biancofiore,—

" Ma di questo non n' ha colpa se non l'empia iniquità del mio
padre . . . Egli m' impromise più volte di mandarmi qua Bianco-
fiore brevemente, e mai mandata non me l'ha. Oimè che ora
conosco il manifesto suo inganno, e truovo che vere sono le parole
che Biancofiore mi disse, dicendo che mai non ce la manderebbe." [2]

That this detail in *Filocolo* was suggested to Boccaccio by the
sources of that work, seems probable from what we read in French
Version II,—

> " Quant il (*i.e.*, Floire) ne voit venir s'amie,
> Sachoiz segurs ne fu il mie ;
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .    .
> Grant felonie fait li rois." [3]

Since Troilo's sufferings steadily increase, Deiphobus and the
other brothers arrange for ladies to come and soothe the bereft
lover with their songs and their affection,—

> " Deifebo a' fratei sen venne ratto,
> Ed ebbe a lor tutto contato il fatto.
>
> Il che essi credetter prestamente,
> Per atti già veduti ; e per non farlo
> Tristo di ciò, di non dirne niente
> Fra lor diliberaro, e d' aiutarlo ;
> Perchè alle donne loro incontanente
> Fer dir ch' ognuna andasse a visitarlo,
> E con suoni e cantori a fargli festa,
> Sì ch' obliasse la vita molesta.

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[1] *Filostrato*, vii, 56, 1–8.                    [2] *Filocolo*, I, 123.
[3] *Floire et Blanceflor*, p. 142–143, ll. 615–616, 637.   On account of its
similarity to a passage in *Fiammetta*, Antona-Traversi (*Il Propugnatore*, XVI,
Parte II², pp. 277–279) seems to attach autobiographical significance to the
part of *Filostrato* recounting Troilo's condemnation of Calcas.     Antona-
Traversi does not note the parallel in *Filocolo* and in the probable source of
*Filocolo*.

> In poca d'ora la camera piena
> Di donne fu, e di suoni e di canti.
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .
> Ciascuna a suo potere il confortava,
> E tale il domandava che sentia." [1]

This plan is, perhaps, in accord with Pandaro's previous suggestion,—

> " Ed oltre a ciò, questa città si vede
> Piena di belle donne e grazïose,
> E se 'l ben ch' io ti vo' merita fede,
> Nulla ce n'è, quai vuoi le più vezzose,
> Che a grado non le sia aver mercede
> Di te, se tu per lei in amorose
> Pene entrerai . . .
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .
> E come io udii già sovente dire,
> Il nuovo amor sempre caccia l'antico ;
> Nuovo piacere il presente martire
> Torrà da te . . ." [2]

To the kind offices of the ladies, however, Troilo pays no attention, for his mind ever reverts to Griseida,—

> " Esso non rispondea, ma riguardava
> Or l'una or l'altra, e nella mente pia
> Di Griseida sua si ricordava,
> Nè più che con sospir ciò discopria ;
> E pur sentiva alquanto di dolcezza
> E per li suoni e per la lor bellezza." [3]

This account of the attempts of Pandaro, Deiphobus, and the others to lure Troilo from thoughts of Griseida is probably an adaptation of the accounts in *Filocolo* of the similar vain attempts of Duke Feramonte and Ascalione to console Florio. The way in which Florio is received at Montorio by ladies singing I have already illustrated.[4] The plan of Deiphobus is, perhaps, more definitely paralleled in *Filocolo* by the arrangement that the guardians of Florio make to send two beautiful young women to tempt him with song and carnal pleasure.[5] The purpose of this latter plan is shown in Ascalione's words to the Duke,—

"Florio mai con Biancofiore carnal diletto non ebbe ; se noi potessimo fare che con alcun' altra bella giovane l'avesse, leggieri sarebbe dimenticar quello ch' egli non ha, per quello che possedesse." [6]

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[1] *Filostrato*, **vii**, 82, 7–84, 2 ; 85, 1–2.          [2] *Id.*, iv, 48, 1–49, 4.
[3] *Id.*, vii, 85, 3–8.          [4] See above, pp. 85–86.
[5] *Filocolo*, I, 226–238.  On this device see A. Dobelli, *Il Culto del Boccaccio per Dante*, Venezia·Firenze, 1897, pp. 25–26.          [6] *Filocolo*, I, 226.

The Duke devises that the damsels, Edea and Calmena, shall meet Florio in the garden,—" facendogli quella festa e mettendolo in quelli ragionamenti che più credete che piacevole gli sia." [1] When Florio enters the garden where the young women await him, " incominciarono a cantare un' amorosa cazonetta, con voci tanto dolci e chiare, che più tosto d'angeli che d'umane creature parevano." [2] After he has somewhat given way to the charms of the maidens, Florio suddenly thinks of Biancofiore, and resists all further advances, saying,

" Pregovi che me, che più di sospirare che di parlare con voi ora mi diletto, qui solo lasciate, e andatevene, perchè ciò che mi dite è tutto perduto." [3]

The account of this attempt to seduce Florio is probably based entirely upon the sources of *Filocolo*, for in *Il Cantare di Florio e Biancifiore* we read of a precisely similar device,—

> " E 'l duca due pulçelle fe' trovare,
> che eran più belle che pesco fiorito ;
> ciascuna era gentil da maritare
> e 'l duca diede lor questo partito :
> la qual di voi lo farà alegrare,
> io li daragio Fiorio per marito.
> ciascuna dicie : io li darò conforto ;
> farol risusitar se fosse morto." [4]

The damsels tempt Florio to their utmost,—

> " Ciascuna li mostrava 'l suo bel petto,
> bianco e prezioso, elle mamelle,
> e dicean Fiorio : or ne prendi diletto
> de noi che siam sì fresche damiselle." [5]

But Florio does not waver,—

> " Fiorio non avea cura di lor detto :
> ambe le man si tenea a le maselle ;
> e in altra parte se n'andò a sedere,
> chè non le volle intender nè vedere." [6]

We have now observed a considerable number of details in the part of *Filostrato* recounting the experiences of the lovers after their separation which closely resemble details in parallel parts of *Filocolo*. For most of these details there is not the slightest hint

[1] *Filocolo*, I, 229.
[3] *Id.*, I, 237.
[5] *Id.*, lx, 1–4.

[2] *Id.*, I, 230.
[4] *Il Cantare*, lviii, 1–8.
[6] *Id.*, lx, 5–8.

in the recognized sources of *Filostrato*, whereas most of them can
be traced in whole or in part to the sources of *Filocolo*. There is
no evidence to contradict the obvious probability that the parts of
*Filocolo* under discussion were written before the parallel parts of
*Filostrato*. I conclude, therefore, that the passages from *Filostrato*
now before us show the influence of the story of Florio and
Biancofiore as Boccaccio had previously undertaken it in *Filocolo*.
Let us now direct our attention especially to the most important
of the occurrences during the period of the separation of the lovers,
—the occurrence that leads to the catastrophe.

For the incipient jealousy of Troilo, for the gradual but steady
progress of that jealousy, and for the final despair of the young
lover after he sees the " ornato vestimento,"—all of which stages
are skilfully and fully treated in *Filostrato*,—for all this, Benoit
offers only a few vivid hints.[1] According to the French poem,
when Diomedes and Troilus meet in combat for the first time after
Briseida's departure from Troy, there is a clear indication that their
mutual enmity has its chief cause in Briseida, for we read,

> " Diomedès est alez joindre
>   O Troïlus *por la danzele*." [2]

It is to be noted, however, that this development is poorly moti-
vated, for we have had no hint that Troilus knows of Diomedes'
courting of Briseida. From the previous account Troilus could
know only that Diomedes was one of the Greek escort sent to
conduct Briseida to the Greek camp.[3] Benoit first gives us
a definite hint of Briseida's infidelity to Troilus in his lines
concerning her token to Diomedes,—

> " La *destre manche de son braz*
>   Bone et fresche *de ciclaton*
>   Li done en leu de *gonfanon*." [4]

Whenever he shall next meet Diomedes, Troilus may infer from
this token the infidelity of his " amie,"—

> " Desor puet saveir Troylus
>   Que ja mar s'i atendra plus :
>   Devers li est l'amors cassée,
>   Qui molt fu puis conparée." [5]

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[1] Guido's narrative at these points is too meagre to deserve consideration
here.   Cf. *Historia*, sig. i 4 recto, col. 1 ; i 5 verso, col. 1.
[2] *R. de T.*, 14286-7.                          [3] *Id.*, 13517-13522.
[4] *Id.* (Joly), 15102-15104.                    [5] *Id.*, 15109-15112.

When the young warriors meet again in single combat Diomedes carries "la manche de ciclaton" on the lance with which he wounds Troilus, but no mention is made of Troilus's having paid particular attention to the token, and we know only by inference that the combatants are animated by jealousy,—

> " Le cheval point vers Troylus :
> Tote la lance d'ebenus,
> *Où la manche ert de ciclaton,*
> Passa par l'escu à lion." [1]

Troilus's jealousy of Diomedes is prominent in their next combat, when Troilus wounds the Greek lover and upbraids him severely,—

> " Ala ferir Diomedes
> D'une lance grosse et poignal
> Si que l'enseigne de cendal
> Li remest parmi les costez,
> Por mort en fu la nuit portez,
> Et si li dist en reprovier :
> ' Or sejornez o la moillier,
> Avec la fille au viel Calcas
> Qui ne vos het, ço dient pas.
> Por soe amor vos manaiasse,
> Se plus par tens m'en apensasse.
> E ne porquant sa corte fei,
> Sa tricherie, et sis boufei,
> Et ço qu' ele a vers moi boisiez,
> Vos a tot ço appareilliez.
> Sis pechié vos a enconbré,
> Et ço que m'a d'amor falsé.
> Par vos li mant : or somes dui,
> Savez estes là où gie fui.
> Molt i aura des acoilliz,
> Ainz que li siéges seit failliz ;
> Molt avez a eschalgueitier,
> Se si l'avez sanz parçonier.
> Ne s'est pas onquore arestée,
> Dès que li mestier li agrée.
> Car s'il avient qu'un poi li plese,
> Li ostelain i auront aise.
> Ce sera sens, s'el se porpense
> Dont ele traie la despense.' " [2]

Troilus's last reference to his unhappy love affair occurs in connection with his triumphant return to Troy after a battle, when in con-

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[1] *R. de T.* (Joly), 15575-15578.          [2] *Id.*, 20066-20094.

demning " les dames tricheresses " and " les puceles menteresses "[1]
he says to his mother and the other ladies,

> " ' . . . mal fier se fait en eles ;
> Car molt en i a poi de celes
> Qui leialment seient amies,
> Sanz falsetez et sanz boisdies.
> Qui que s'en lot, ne m'en geu pas.
> Trichié m'a la fille Calcas.' "[2]

These few disconnected but vivid passages are all that the French
poet offered Boccaccio as a basis for his extended account of the
jealousy and despair of Troilo,—an account that may be outlined
as follows.

Troilo's jealousy is first definitely aroused after he has patiently
waited the prescribed ten days for Griseida's return,—

> " In lui ogni disio istato antico
> Ritornò nuovo, e sopra esso l'inganno
> Che li parea ricevere, e *'l nemico*
> *Spirto di gelosia* gravoso affanno
> Più ch' alcun altro è di posa mendico,
> Come son quei che già provato l'hanno ;
> Ond' el piangeva giorno e notte . . ."[3]

Such thoughts prepare Troilo for the dream in which he sees a
boar tearing Griseida's heart and from which he immediately infers
that Diomede is his successful rival. With words of despair the
young prince rushes to take his own life,—

> " La tua Griseida, oimè, m'ha ingannato,
> Di cui io più che d'altra mi fidava,
> Ell' ha ad altrui il suo amor donato,
> Il che più che la morte assai mi grava.
>
> . . . . . . .
>              . . . oimè fermezza,
> *Oimè promessa, oimè fede* e leanza,
> Chi v'ha gittate dalla mia amanza ?
>
> . . . . . . .
> *Io vo' colle mie man prender la morte,*
> Che'n tal vita più star non saria giuoco.
>
> . . . . . . .
> E questo detto, *corse ad un coltello,*
> Il qual pendea nella camera aguto,
> E per lo petto si volle con ello
> Dar . . ."[4]

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[1] *R. de T.* (Joly), 20657–8.    [2] *Id.*, 20659–20664.
[3] *Filostrato*, vii, 18, 1–7.
[4] *Id.*, vii, 26, 1–4 ; 29, 6–8 ; 32, 4–5 ; 33, 1–4.

Pandaro, however, restrains Troilo from suicide and enforces upon him the folly of believing in dreams,[1]—

> " E s' io ho ben raccolto ciò c' hai detto,
> Null' altra cosa di ciò ti fa fede
> Se non il sogno, il qual prendi sospetto.
>
> . . . . . . .
> *E senza più voler sentirne avanti,*
> *Finir volei con morte i tristi planti.*
>
> Io ti dissi altra volta, che follia
> Era ne' sogni troppo riguardare ;
>
> . . . . . . .
> Ciò che dormendo altrui la fantasia
> Con varie forme puote dimostrare
>
> . . . . . . .
> . . . allora ti dovevi
> Dalla fede de' sogni e dallo inganno
> D' essi levar, che venieno *a tuo danno*." [2]

After convincing Troilo that dreams are hardly a sound basis for procedure, Pandaro suggests his writing a letter to Griseida. In his letter [3] Troilo renews his vows of love, speaks of his desolation and of his suspicions that she has taken a new lover, and begs her to return,—

> " Giovane donna, a cui amor mi diede
> E tuo mi tiene, e mentre sarò in vita
> Mi terrà sempre con intera fede
>
> . . . . . . .
> El non dovrà, come che divenuta
> Sia quasi Greca, *la lettera mia*
> *Da te ancor non esser ricevuta ;*
> *Perciocchè 'n poco tempo non s' oblia*
> *Sì lungo amor* . . .
>
> . . . . . . .
> . . . però *prenderaila*
> *E 'nfino alla sua fine leggeraila.*
>
> . . . . . . .
> Parmi, se 'l tuo consiglio ho bene a mente,
> Che potuto abbiano in te le paterne
> Lusinghe, o *nuovo amor* t' è nella mente
> Entrato . . .
>
> . . . . . . .
> Ma forte temo che *novello amore*
> Non sia cagion di tua lunga dimora.
>
> . . . . . . .

---

[1] *Filostrato*, vii, 33–42.
[2] *Id.*, vii, 39, 3–5, 7–8 ; 40, 1–2, 5–6 ; 42, 6–8.
[3] *Id.*, vii, 52–75.

> Ben puoi pensare omai quel che farei
> Se certo fossi di ciò c' ho dottanza :
> Certo *io credo ch' io m' ucciderei*
> *Di te sentendo sì fatta fallanza.*

> . . . . . . .
> Li dolci canti e le brigate oneste,
> Gli uccelli e 'cani e l' andar sollazzando,
> *Le vaghe donne,* i templi e le gran feste,
> Che per addietro solea gir cercando,
> *Fuggo ora tutte e sonmi oimè moleste.*

> . . . . . . .
> Deh io ten prego . . .

> . . . . . . .
> Che di me ti ricordi, *e che tu torni :*
> E se per avventura se' impedita,
> Mi scrivi . . .

> . . . . . . .
> E dimmi se io deggio più di spene
> In te avere omai, dolce mio bene.

> Se mi darai speranza, aspetteraggio,
> Come ch' el mi sia grave oltremisura ;
> Se tu la mi torrai, m' uccideraggio.

> . . . . . . .
> *Perdona se nell' ordine dettando*
> *I 'ho fallito,* e *se di macchie piena*
> *Forse vedi la lettera* ch' io mando :
> Che dell' uno e dell' altro la mia pena
> N' è gran cagion, perocchè lagrimando
> Vivo e dimoro, nè le mi raffrena
> Nullo accidente : *adunque son dolenti*
> *Lacrime, queste macchie sì soventi.*" [1]

Receiving no reply, Troilo writes other letters, sends Pandaro in times of truce, and even thinks of going himself disguised as a pilgrim.[2] Griseida's only replies are evasive words that give Troilo new assurance of her infidelity.[3] At last Deiphobus comes with the "ornato vestimento" snatched from Diomede in battle.[4] When Troilo sees the trophy, he recognizes the "fermaglio" that he himself has given Griseida, and his proof of her faithlessness is complete,[5]—

> " O Griseida mia, *dov' è la fede,*
> *Dove l' amore,* dove ora 'l desire !

> . . . . . .

[1] *Filostrato*, vii, 52, 1–3 ; 53, 1–5, 7–8 ; 56, 1–4 ; 58, 1–2 ; 61, 1–4 ; 62, 1–5 ; 70, 1 ; 72, 1–3, 7–8 ; 73, 1–3 ; 74, 1–8.
[2] *Id.*, viii, 3–4.    [3] *Id.*, viii, 5–6.    [4] *Id.*, viii, 8, 3–8.
[5] *Id.*, viii, 9, 2—10, 8.

> Chi crederà omai a nessun giuro,
> Chi ad amor, chi a femmina omai,
> Ben riguardando il tuo falso spergiuro ?
>
> . . . . . . .
> Or non avevi tu altro *gioiello*
> Da poter dare al tuo novello amante ?
>
> . . . . . .
> *Nel mio* [*i. e.*, petto] *ancora tengo effigiato*
> *Il tuo bel viso* con noiosa doglia :
> *O lasso me, che 'n malora fui nato.*" [1]

Troilo now vows to kill him who has thus robbed him of his beloved,—

> " . . . ma per Venere dea
> Ti giuro, tosto ten farò dolente
> Colla mia spada alla prima mislea,
> Se egli avviene ch' io 'l possa trovare." [2]

Neither Troilo nor Diomede, however, falls by the hand of the other, and at last Troilo is killed in battle by Achilles.[3]

From the foregoing outline it is sufficiently clear that Boccaccio's account of the jealousy and final despair of Troilo owes very little to Benoit's account,—nothing we may say, except suggestions for Troilo's encounters with Diomede,[4] for the episode of the "ornato vestimento,"[5] and for some of Troilo's condemnation of the faithless Griseida.[6]   When we turn to *Filocolo*, however, we find an episode of jealousy and despair which in general treatment and in many details is a striking parallel to the part of *Filostrato* under discussion.   The episode in *Filocolo* may be outlined as follows :

When Florio is banished to Montorio, King Felice promises to send Biancofiore to him within a short time.[7]   As time passes, Florio begins so seriously to doubt the sincerity of the King and the constancy of Biancofiore that at length jealousy creeps into his thoughts.   Says the young prince,—

" Egli [*i. e.*, King Felice] m' impromise più volte di mandarmi qua Biancofiore brevemente, e mai mandata non me l' ha . . . . ma tuttavia la poca stabilità la qual nelle donne si truova, e massi-

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[1] *Filostrato*, viii, 12, 2–3 ; 13, 1–3 ; 14, 1–2 ; 15, 3–5.
[2] *Id.*, viii, 16, 4–7.     [3] *Id.*, viii, 25–27.
[4] See *id.*, viii, 16, 21, 25–26 ; *R. de T.* (Joly), 14238–14240, 15548–15591, 20057–20094.
[5] See *Filostrato*, viii, 8–10 ; *R. de T.* (Joly), 15102–4, 15577.
[6] See especially *Filostrato*, viii, 13, 1–8, and *R. de T.* (Joly), 20659–20664.
[7] See *Filocolo*, I, 97, 105.

mamente nelle giovani, me ne fa molto dubitare. . . . Oimè, quanto acerba vita è quella dell' amante, il quale dubitando vive geloso. . . . *E in gravissimo affanno mi tiene gelosia*, e la cagione è questa. Le giovani donzelle sono di poca stabilità, e per la loro bellezza da molti amanti sogliono essere stimolate. . . ." [1]

In trying to expel Florio's jealous thoughts, the Duke calls attention to his poor health and troubled sleep, and urges him not to act upon such uncertainties as his present imaginings,—

" Oimè, quanto più è da pensare della sanità, la quale i sonni interi e le malinconie lontane esser dimostra ; e però questo del tutto dei lasciare andare. . . . *E te più vinto da ira e da malinconia, che consigliato dalla ragione, cerchi la morte per conforto*, e sempre in pensiero e in dolore dimori, e vai immaginando quelle cose le quali nè vedesti nè vedrai giammai. . . . *Folle è colui che per li futuri danni senza certezza spande lagrime.*" [2]

Florio's imaginings, however, seem to become certainties when Fileno comes from Marmorina boasting over a veil that Biancofiore has given him as a favour in a tournament,—

". . . e traendo fuori *il velo* il mostrò a Florio : e poi seguendo il suo parlare disse : e appresso aggiunse, che io per amore di lei mi dovessi portar bene : onde se questo è assai manifesto segnale di vero amore voi come me il potete conoscere." [3]

Convinced at last of Biancofiore's infidelity, Florio utters such despairing words as the following :

" O dolce Biancofiore, speranza della misera anima . . . quante lagrime hanno bagnato *il dolente petto, nel quale io continuamente effigiata ti porto così bella* come tu se'! . . . io conosco te non potere negare d' essere di Fileno innamorata, perchè egli m' ha mostrato quel velo col quale tu coprivi la bionda testa, quando con pietose parole ti domandò una delle tue *gioie, e tu gli donasti quello*. . . . *Ov' è fuggita la promessa fede ? E tu dove se', o Amore.* . . . Se tu così notabile fallo lasci impunito, *chi avrà in te giammai fidanza ? . . . Maladetta sia l' ora ch' io nacqui.*" [4]

Just as Florio is about to kill himself,[5] he falls asleep and has a vision sufficiently reassuring to prevent his suicide, but not to

[1] *Filocolo*, I, 123, 214, 240. Cf. *Filostrato*, vii, 18, 1–7, quoted above.

[2] *Filocolo*, I, 242–3. Cf. *Filostrato*, vii, 39–42, partly quoted above.

[3] *Filocolo*, I, 249. Cf. *Filostrato*, viii, 8, 3–8. To the parallelism between the "velo" of Fileno and the "fermaglio" of Diomede I shall recur below.

[4] *Filocolo*, I, 251, 252, 253, 254, 257. Cf. *Filostrato*, viii, 10–15, partly quoted above.

[5] See *Filocolo*, I, 257.

rid him of suspicion.[1]    When the young lover awakes, he decides
to clear his doubt by sending Biancofiore a letter, the general and
particular similarities of which to Troilo's letter may be shown
from the following passages,—

"Se gli avversarii fati, o graziosa giovane, t' hanno a me coll'
altre prosperità levata, come io credo, non con isperanza di poterti
colli miei preghi muovere *dal novello amore,* ma pensando che
lieve mi sia perdere queste parole con teco insieme, ti scrivo. . . .
*e per quell' amore che tu già mi portasti, ti prego che questa senza
gravezza infino alla fine legga.* . . . E quante volte *già giovani
donne* per rintiepidire i miei tormenti, le cui bellezze sariano agl'
iddii bene investite, *m' hanno del loro amore tentato, nè mai alcuna
potè vincere il forte* cuore, a *te tutto disposto di servire* . . . ogni
ora potevi udire me essere *a te più soggetto* che mai . . . *se questo
esser vero sentirò,* con altra certezza che quella che io ti scrivo,
per gli eterni iddii *la mia vita in più lungo spazio non si
distenderà.* . . . *le dolenti lagrime,* le quali ognora che queste
cose che scritte t' ho mi tornano nella mente, avvegnachè dir
potrei che mai non n' escano, mi costringono tanto, che più avanti
scrivere non posso. *E quasi quello che io ho scritto non ho potuto
interamente dalle loro macchie guardare* . . . nella quale [*i. e.,* la
mia lettera] *se forse alcuna cosa scritta fosse la quale a te non
piacesse,* non con malizia, ma fervente amore m' ha a quello
scrivere mosso, e *però mi perdona.* E se quello che il tristo
cuor pensa è vero, *caramente ti prego* che se possibile è *indietro
si torni* . . . e se così non è, *non tardi una tua lettera a
certificarmene;* perchè infinattanto che questo dubbio sarà in me,
infino a quell' ora il *tuo coltello* non si partirà della mia mano,
*presto a uccidere e a perdonare secondo ch' io ti sentirò disposto.*"[2]

Although Biancofiore replies with vows of eternal love,[3] Florio's
suspicions are not allayed, and his jealousy rises to such a pitch
that he determines to kill Fileno.[4]   Fileno, divinely warned,
escapes death by flight.[5]

In view of the common authorship of *Filocolo* and *Filostrato,*
and of their close relation in chronology, we must conclude that
one of the two episodes just compared influenced the other.
After a mere reading of the two episodes a fair critic would
conclude, no doubt, that the Fileno episode, with its mythological
padding, its diatribe, and its bombastic monologues, was composed

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[1] See *Filocolo,* I, 258–261.   Cf. Troilo's dream, *Filostrato,* vii, 23–28.   In
content, the two dreams are, of course, quite different.
[2] *Filocolo,* I, 261, 263, 264, 266, 267.   Cf. *Filostrato,* vii, 52–75, quoted
in part above.
[3] See *Filocolo,* I, 269–274.      [4] *Id.,* I, 275–281.      [5] *Id.,* I, 284–292.

before the more fluent and finished parallel parts of *Filostrato*. However, before this simple and obvious inference can be accepted, a more technical study of the chronology is necessary.

In the first place, it is to be noted that the Fileno episode as a whole is one of the innovations in Boccaccio's treatment of the traditional story of Florio and Biancofiore.[1] Since no earlier version of the story contains a character parallel to Fileno,[2] we are especially justified in searching this part of *Filocolo* for autobiographical revelations. With considerable justification auto-biographical significance has been found in one small passage connected with this episode.[3] The determination of the exact relation of this small passage to the episode as a whole is important for our present purpose. At the close of the sketch of the Fileno episode in the pages above [4] we found Fileno fleeing to escape the jealous rage of Florio. When the fugitive reaches the spot where the "Glene" unites with the "Elsa,"[5] he breaks into a denunciation of love and of the injustice of his exile.[6] This he follows with a particularly conventional diatribe against passionate women in general,[7]—" sfrenata moltitudine di femmine,"—citing the examples of Clytemnestra, Helen, Procne, Medea, Myrrha, Byblis, Cleopatra and others, all of whom are "innumerabile popolo di pessime creature." [8] Straightway Fileno meets a forlorn youth, whose denunciation of *a particular woman* is very different from the conventional bombast of Fileno.[9] His fervid words run as follows :

"Non molto lontano di qui, avvegnachè vicina sia più assai quella parte alla città di colui i cui ammaestramenti io seguii, e dove tu non è molto tempo ci fosti siccome tu di', era una gentil donna la quale io sopra tutte le cose del mondo amai e amo, e di lei mi concedette amore per lo mio buon servire ciò che l' amoroso disio cercava : e in questi diletti stetti non lungo tempo, che la fortuna mi volse in veleno la passata dolcezza, che quando mi

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[1] Cf. Crescini, *Contributo*, etc., p. 203.

[2] The sources of *Filocolo* undoubtedly contained suggestions of jealousy between the lovers during the period of their separation. In Fleck's *Flore und Blanscheflur*, Flore's parting words (ll. 1284–1320) seem to forbode jealousy on the part of his *innamorata* (Cf. Crescini, *Contributo*, etc., p. 203, note 4). In *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore* we are told that at one time during Fiorio's absence Biancifiore was "in tanta gelosia" (*Il Cantare*, xxxviii, 4).

[3] Cf. Crescini, *Contributo*, etc., pp. 72–73.        [4] See above, p. 101.

[5] See *Filocolo*, I, 291.  Cf. Crescini, *Contributo*, etc., pp. 71–72.

[6] See *Filocolo*, I, 292–296.        [7] *Id.*, I, 296–299.

[8] *Id.*, I, 299.        [9] See *id.*, I, 300–303.

credeva avere più la sua benivolenza, e avere acquistato con diverse maniere il suo amore, io colli miei occhi vidi questa me per un altro avere abbandonato; e conobbi manifestamente che lungamente e con false parole m'avea ingannato, facendomi vedere che io era solo colui che il suo amore aveva : la qual cosa come mi fu manifesta, niuno credo che mai simile doglia sentisse com' io sentii."[1]

No one can deny that these words seem to have a definite reference and a personal ring entirely lacking in the passages that precede them. One can easily infer that the youth who speaks represents Giovanni Boccaccio.[2] If this utterance is autobiographical, it belongs, presumably, to the period after Maria's infidelity—that is, to a period considerably later than the stage of courtship represented by *Filostrato*. This passage may be regarded, then, as a later insertion into a work which, in its beginning, at all events, professedly represents the earliest stages of the author's great love affair. Such a disposition of a passage before us accords well with the fact that it is no integral part of the episode to which it is so loosely attached. The episode is really closed with the flight of Fileno, the meeting with the forlorn youth being merely the first of Fileno's experiences during his wanderings. Florio does not pursue his supposed rival, and, so far as we can tell, his jealousy is cured by Fileno's flight.

We have still to consider the chronological position of the rest of the episode, or, more accurately, of the episode as a whole. No one has ever attempted to demonstrate that the Fileno episode as a whole is autobiographical. However, since one writer has ventured a suggestion in that direction,[3] we may do well to consider the chronological implications of such a suggestion. To what period in Boccaccio's love affair could we assign this episode? If we interpret the supposed allegory strictly, whether Boccaccio is speaking in the mouth of Florio or of Fileno, since neither of these has consummated his love, the episode, we may suppose, would represent the period of courtship,—the period to which we assign *Filostrato*. If *Filostrato* and the Fileno episode fall into the same period, which was written first? For answering this question we have only stylistic indications, and these point clearly

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[1] *Filocolo*, I, 301–302.     [2] Cf. Crescini, *Contributo*, etc., pp. 72–73.
[3] Rossi (p. 79, note 1), without demonstration, surmises that the episode as a whole is autobiographical,—" Principalmente, io credo, perchè egli ritraeva sentimenti e affetti proprii : il *Filocolo* infatti e il *Filostrato* sono le opere scrivendo le quali più ebbe il Boccaccio a provare i morsi della gelosia."

to the chronological priority of the episode in *Filocolo*. On the other hand, if we ignore the autobiographical possibilities of the Fileno episode we are once more left to the stylistic criterion, and hence to the chronological priority of *Filocolo*.

One more point deserves consideration before we close, tentatively, our examination of the relative chronology of the parts of *Filocolo* and *Filostrato* before us. We have already observed that Florio becomes aware of his lady's supposed infidelity through a favour, in the form of a veil, that Fileno brings to Montorio.[1] This situation is strikingly similar to that in the *Roman de Troie* in which Troilus becomes aware of Briseida's infidelity, we infer, through the favour that she has given to Diomedes.[2] It is to be noted also that this situation in *Filocolo* is much nearer to the simple sketch in Benoit's poem than to the more complicated parallel situation in *Filostrato*. According to the Italian poem, Troilo at no time sees Diomede wearing Griseida's favour, and has no definite evidence of her infidelity until Deiphobus brings to Troy the " ornato vestimento " of Diomede, on which Troilo sees the fatal " fermaglio." Since Benoit's poem was almost certainly familiar to Boccaccio at the time when he was writing *Filocolo*,[3] it seems probable that the detail of the veil shows the influence of the favour of Diomedes in the *Roman de Troie* rather than of the trophy exhibited by Deiphobus in *Filostrato*. To be sure, the detail of the veil may not be literary imitation at all, but merely Boccaccio's invention.

From the facts before us it seems to me most probable

(1) that Boccaccio introduced a long and cumbersome episode of jealousy into the story of Florio and Biancofiore merely for literary purposes ;[4]

(2) that the remarks of the forlorn youth at the end of the episode are autobiographical ;[5]

(3) that the situation in which Florio discovers Biancofiore's supposed infidelity through her veil carried by Fileno may have been suggested by Benoit's brief sketch of Troilus's experiences with Diomedes ;

(4) that in writing *Filostrato*, Boccaccio adopted many details from the Fileno episode in *Filocolo*.

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[1] See above, p. 100.
[3] See above, pp. 10, 62, 69, 152 ff.
[4] Cf. Crescini, *Contributo*, etc., p. 203.

[2] See above, pp. 94–95.
[5] Cf. *id.*, pp. 72–73.

From our study of the genesis of *Filostrato*, it appears that this poem has as its basis the fragmentary episode of Troilus and Briseida created by Benoît and abbreviated by Guido.   To these fragmentary sources Boccaccio made many additions, a large part of which are mere adaptations of ideas and details that he had previously embodied in his own *Filocolo*, a work that was well under way and probably still in progress when *Filostrato* was composed.   Since the earlier work was still in his mind and probably still unfinished, the writer of *Filostrato* could hardly have avoided some reminiscences of the earlier work in the later, even if he had intended to do so.   But when we consider the meagreness of the proper sources of *Filostrato* and the similarity of parts of the story of Florio and Biancofiore to the story of Troilus and Briseida, such adaptations as I have pointed out seem not only natural but inevitable.   Moreover, such adaptations and repetitions, far from being foreign to Boccaccio's general method, are one of the most familiar and, to the biographers of this author, one of the most interesting and baffling characteristics of his early works.[1]   There is, then, in the external circumstances and in the author's general literary economy nothing to contradict my present contention that the story of Troilo and Griseida, as it took its first independent literary form in the hands of Boccaccio and passed on through the hands of Chaucer to Shakespeare, is a successful combination of an episode from the mediæval romance of Troy and of numerous features that were originally associated with the mediæval story of Floire and Blanchefleur.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE RELATIONS OF *TROILUS AND CRISEYDE* TO THE *ROMAN DE TROIE* AND TO THE *HISTORIA TROIANA*.

FOR many years it has been well known that Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* is based directly upon Boccaccio's *Filostrato*.[2]   Not only did Chaucer derive his plot from the Italian poem, but he also adapted from it approximately a third of the lines in the

[1] Cf. Crescini, *Contributo*, etc., pp. 70–219.
[2] For the history of opinion on this point, see G. L. Hamilton, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde to Guido delle Colonne's Historia Trojana*, New York, 1903, pp. 21–45.

English poem.[1] However, since *Troilus* is almost a third longer than *Filostrato*, and since approximately one-half of the Italian poem is left unused, it would seem that the sources of some two-thirds of the English poem must be sought elsewhere.

It was entirely natural that in seeking materials for enlarging the story, Chaucer should revert to the famous sources of *Filostrato* itself. Opinions have varied, however, as to whether Chaucer's supplementary source was Benoit, or Guido, or both of these, and as to the extent of his borrowings from each.[2] The most

[1] The traditional statement (see W. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Vol. II, Oxford, 1894, pp. xlix–l), which rests upon W. M. Rossetti's *Chaucer's Troylus and Criseyde compared with Boccaccio's Filostrato* (Chaucer Society, 1873), is that, of the 8239 lines of *Troilus*, 2583 lines are directly adapted by condensation from 2730 lines of *Filostrato*, the total length of which is 5704 lines. Probably Chaucer's verbal indebtedness to *Filostrato* is greater than appears from the tabulation based upon Rossetti's comparison, for I do not believe that Rossetti points out all the passages in *Troilus* that show verbal borrowings from the Italian. For example, Rossetti (p. 292) indicates no parallel in *Filostrato* for the following lines from Criseyde's letter to Troilus in the English poem :

> " *Your lettres ful*, the papir al *y-pleynted*,
> *Conseyved hath myn hertes piëtee ;*
> I have eek seyn *with teres al depeynted*
> *Your lettre . . .*" (*T. and C.*, v, 1597–1600).

In Griseida's first letter to Troilo in *Filostrato* we read :

> " *Piene le carte della tua scrittura ;*
> *Nelle quai lessi la tua vita grama*
> *Non senza doglia,* s'io abbia ventura
> Che mi sia cara, e *benchè sian fregiate*
> *Di lacrime,* pur l' ho assai mirate "
>
> (*Filostrato*, ii, 122, 4–8).

Again, the English lines,

> " Now loke that *atempre be thy brydel*,
> And, for the beste, ay *suffre* to the tyde "
>
> (*T. and C.*, i, 953–954),

for which Rossetti (p. 35) indicates no parallel in *Filostrato*, certainly resemble the Italian lines,

> " . . . *possi tu soffrire,*
> *Ben raffrenando* il tuo caldo disire "
>
> (*Filostrato*, ii, 23, 7–8).

These are only examples from a list the completion of which would demand some revision of Rossetti's exceedingly useful comparison.

[2] For a review of opinion on this point, see Hamilton, pp. 15–50. There is no proof that Chaucer reverted for materials to the *De Excidio Troiae Historia* of Dares Phrygius, where the characters of the story of Troilus and Briseida are mentioned and to some extent described (see above, pp. 2–3). All the details in which Chaucer's poem closely resembles Dares are accessible in the more immediate sources of *Troilus and Criseyde*. On this point, see T. R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, New York, 1892, Vol. II, pp. 314–315 ; G. C. Macaulay, *Academy*, XLVII, 298, col. 2 ; Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, II, pp. lx.

recent and the most complete collection of evidence on this point is that contained in Dr. G. L. Hamilton's book, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde to Guido delle Colonne's Historia Trojana*.[1] We might well expect this book to settle once for all a question that had previously been frequently, but always incompletely, discussed, and so far as the collecting of evidence is concerned, our expectation is sufficiently realized. The evidence, however, is so confusingly arranged and in many cases so unduly emphasized that just conclusions cannot, I think, be drawn from Dr. Hamilton's valuable *collectanea* without a rearrangement of the evidence, and, in most cases, a re-examination of the sources. The present chapter, then, represents my re-study of the docu-

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lxiv, lxxx ; Hamilton, pp. 75, 82, 83, 98, 103, 116, note 2, 130, 150.   On the apparent connection between Chaucer's line,

"Criseyde mene was of hir *stature* " (*T. and C.*, v, 806),

and Dares' phrase,

" Briseidam . . . non alta *statura* " (*De Excidio Troiae*, p. 17, ll. 7–8),

see below, p. 111.   Skeat (p. lxxx), in asserting that the line,

"And save hir browes joyneden y-fere" (*T. and C.*, v, 813),

"is due to Dares," evidently overlooks Benoit's line,

"Mais les sorcilles li joigneient" (*R. de T.*, 5279).

Cf. Macaulay, *Academy*, XLVII, 298, col. 2.   Certainly we cannot be sure that Chaucer took the name, "Poliphete" (*T. and C.*, ii, 1467, 1616, 1619), from the "Polypoetem" of Dares (p. 30, l. 5), when Guido mentions a "Polibetes," a "Polipotes," and a "Poliphebus" in fairly close juxtaposition (*Historia*, sig. e 3 verso, col. 1.   For "Polipotes" of the printed text—Strassburg, 1489—Harvard MS. 27282. 67. 6, of the fourteenth century, fol. 37 recto, has "Polipetes").   Benoit has "Polipetes" (*R. de T.*, 8279, variant).   Cf. Hamilton, pp. 97–98.

It is not easy to see that Chaucer's phrase, "mighty limes square" (*T. and C.*, v, 801), applied to Diomedes, is any nearer to Dares' "quadratum corpore" (p. 16, ll. 19–20) than to Benoit's "Gros e quarrez . . ." (*R. de T.*, 5212).   To be sure, another hero, Ajax Oileus, is described by Dares as "quadratum valentibus membris " (p. 16, ll. 14–15), for which Benoit has,

"  . . . gros e quarrez
De piz, de braz e de costez" (*R. de T.*, 5179–5180),

which Guido renders,

"Corpore grossus fuit, amplis scapulis, grossis brachiis"
(*Historia*, sig. e 1 verso, col. 2 ).

Cf. Hamilton, p. 116, note 2.   Chaucer's "Delphos" (*T. and C.*, iv, 1411) has a parallel in Dares' "Delphos" (p. 19, ll. 13 and 19) and in Guido's "Delphos insulam" (*Historia*, sig. e 4 recto, col. 2).   Cf. Hamilton, p. 75. On Chaucer's knowledge of Dares in general, see Beck, *Anglia*, V, 325–326, referred to by Lounsbury, II, 260, note 2, and by Hamilton, p. 61, note 2.

[1] New York, 1903.

ments and my attempt to state more justly the indebtedness of
Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* to Guido and Benoit respectively.[1]

We may first consider those passages of the English poem which
are, or which have been reputed to be, based upon passages in
Guido's *Historia Troiana*.[2]

Chaucer describes Troilus as follows :

> " And Troilus *wel waxen was in highte,*
> And *complet formed by proporcioun*
> So wel, that kinde it not amenden mighte ;
> *Yong, fresshe, strong,* and *hardy* as lyoun ;
> Trewe as steel in ech condicioun ;
> On of the beste enteched creature,
> That is, or shal, whyl that the world may dure.
>
> And certainly in storie it is y-founde,
> That Troilus was never un-to no wight,
> As in his tyme, *in no degree secounde*
> In durring don that *longeth to a knight.*
> Al mighte a geaunt passen him of might,
> His herte ay with the firste and with the beste
> Stod paregal, to durre don that him leste," [3]—

to which description may be added,

> " And eek his *fresshe* brother Troilus,
> The wyse worthy *Ector the secounde,*
> In whom that every vertu list abounde,
> As alle trouthe and alle gentillesse,
> Wysdom, honour, fredom, and worthinesse," [4]

and also the lines,

> " And in the toun his maner tho forth ay
> So goodly was, and gat him so in grace,
> *That ech him lovede* that loked on his face.[5]
>
> For dredelees, men tellen that he dooth
> In armes day by day so worthily,
> And bereth him here at hoom so gentilly

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[1] In general, I shall not consider those parts of Chaucer's poem which could
have been suggested equally well by passages in either Benoit or Guido.    For
a list of such passages, see Hamilton, pp. 98 ff.

[2] In connection with the Chaucerian passages reputed to be based on Guido
I shall be obliged to consider numerous borrowings from Benoit which would
appear more properly in my later list of Chaucerian passages based upon the
*Roman de Troie.*

[3] *T. and C.*, v, 827–840.  Cf. ii, 644, 739–740 ; iii, 1774–1775 ; v, 1564–
1565, 1803–1804.

[4] *Id.*, ii, 157–161.                              [5] *Id.*, i, 1076–1078.

> To every wight, that al the prys hath he
> Of hem that me were levest preysed be." [1]

There can be no doubt that these descriptions have a close parallel
in similar descriptions of Troilus in the *Roman de Troie*, where we
read,

> " Poï ert meins *forz* en son endreit
> Ne meins *hardiz* qu'Hector esteit:
>
> .   .   .   .   .   .
>
> Troïlus fu beaus a merveille ;
> Chiere ot riant, face vermeille,
> Cler vis apert, le front plenier :
> Mout *covint bien a chevalier.*
>
> .   .   .   .   .   .
>
> Tant come il ert en bon talent,
> Par esguardot si doucement,
> Que deliz ert de lui veeir ; [2]
> Mais une rien vos di por veir,
> Qu'il ert envers ses enemis
> D'autre semblant e d'autre vis.
> Haut ot le nes e par mesure :
> Bien sist as armes sa faiture.
>
> .   .   .   .   .   .
>
> Trestoz les membres bien tailliez ;
>
> .   .   .   .   .   .
>
> *Granz ert, mais bien li coveneit
> O la taille, que bone aveit.* [3]
>
> .   .   .   .   .   .
>
> Ne fu sorfaiz ne outrajos,
> Mais *liez e gais* e amoros.

[1] *T. and C.,* ii, 185–189. On these descriptions of Troilus, see Skeat, Vol.
II, pp. lvi–lvii ; Hamilton, pp. 75–76 ; G. C. Macaulay, in *Three More Parallel
Texts of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde* (edited by F. J. Furnivall, Chaucer
Society, 1894–1895), p. (a) ; J. W. Broatch, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's
Troilus to Benoît's Roman,* in *Journal of Germanic Philology,* II, 16.

[2] Macaulay (*Three More Parallel Texts,* p. a) notes the resemblance
between this line and Chaucer's line concerning Troilus,

"It was an heven up-on him for to see" (*T. and C.,* ii, 637).

[3] I do not understand Dr. Hamilton's statement (p. 81, note 1) that the
Italian lines (*Filostrato,* i, 27, 1–2),

" Ell' era grande, ed alla sua grandezza
Rispondean bene i membri tutti quanti,"

which describe *Griseida,* were used by Chaucer in his description of Troilus
(*T. and C.,* v, 827–828),—

" And Troïlus wel waxen was in highte,
And complet formed by proporcioun " ;

for the French lines before us (cf. Hamilton, p. 81, note 1), which describe
*Troilus,* are an equally adequate parallel to the English lines. On the possi-
bility that the Italian lines describing Griseida are themselves based upon the
French lines describing Troilus, see above, p. 24.

> *Bien fu amez* e bien ama,
> E maint grant fais en endura.
> Bachelers ert e *jovenceaus*,
> De ceus de Troie li plus beaus
> *E li plus proz, fors que sis frere*
> *Hector* . . ."[1]

Guido describes Troilus as follows:

"Troilus vero licet multum fuerit corpore magnus, magis tamen fuit corde magnanimus; animosus multum, sed multam habuit in sua animositate temperiem; dilectus plurimum a puellis cum ipse aliqualem servando modestiam delectaretur in illis. In viribus vero et strenuitate bellandi, vel *fuit alius Hector vel secundus ab ipso. In toto etiam regno Troiae iuvenis nullus fuit tantis* viribus nec tanta audacia gloriosus."[2]

Since Boccaccio offers no similar passage, there can be no doubt that in his description of Troilus Chaucer is in the main following Benoit rather than Guido. Nevertheless, Guido's phrase, "*alius Hector vel secundus ab ipso*," shows so striking a verbal similarity[3] to Chaucer's,

". . . Troilus,
The wyse worthy Ector the secounde,"[4]

that, although Benoit expresses the same thought,—

"E li plus proz, fors que sis frere
Hector . . .,"[5]—

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[1] *R. de T.*, 3991-3992, 5393-5396, 5401-5408, 5422, 5425-5426, 5433-5440. On the similarity of Chaucer's description to Benoit's, see Macaulay, *Three more Parallel Texts*, p. (a); Macaulay, *Academy*, XLVII, 298; Broatch, *Jour. of Germ. Philol.*, II, 16; Hamilton, p. 76, note 2.

[2] *Historia Troiana*, sig. e 2 verso, cols. 1-2.   Hamilton (p. 76, note 2) notes also Guido's statement, ". . . cum ibi sit alius Hector qui non minori praeditus est virtute inclitus ille scilicet Troilus, qui non minus quam si Hector viveret Graecos affligit" (*Historia*, sig. k 6 recto, col. 2—verso, col. 1).

[3] Cf. Skeat, Vol. II, p. lvii; Hamilton, p. 76.

[4] *T. and C.*, ii, 157-158, quoted above.   Cf. *T. and C.*, ii, 644, 739-740; iii, 1774-1775; v, 1564-1565, 1803-1804, noted by Hamilton, p. 76, note 1.

[5] *R. de T.*, 5439-5440.   Broatch (p. 16) thinks that the French lines contain "the very statement that Troylus was second only to Hector in arms." See also Benoit's statements concerning Troilus,—

"Poi ert meins forz en son endreit
Ne meins hardiz qu'Hector esteit" (*R. de T.*, 3991-3992);

"N'est pas meins forz d'Hector son frere"
(*R. de T.* (Joly), 19899).

The conventionality of these phrases is, perhaps, shown by such lines as the following in the *Roman de Thèbes*,—

"O Eneas, qui fu molt proz,
Fors Hector li mieudres de toz"

it is possible that Guido had a slight influence upon the English passage.[1]

In Chaucer's description of Criseyde occur the following passages :

> " Criseyde *mene was of hir stature*,[2]
> Ther-to of shap, of face, and eek of chere,
> Ther mighte been no fairer creature.
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .
> And, *save hir browes joyneden y-fere*,
> *Ther nas no lak* in ought I can espyen ;
> But for to speken of *hir eyen clere*,
> Lo, trewely, they writen that hir syen,
> That *paradys stood formed in hir yën*.[3]
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .
> She sobre was, eek simple, and *wys* with-al,
> The *beste y-norisshed* eek that mighte be,
> And *goodly of hir speche* in general,
> *Charitable*, estatliche, lusty, and free ;
> Ne never-mo *ne lakkede hir pitee ;*
> Tendre-herted, *slydinge of corage*." [4]

In this description Chaucer seems in the main to have departed from Boccaccio's description[5] and to have reverted to the sources

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(*Le Roman de Thèbes*, edited by L. Constans, Paris, 1890, ll. 7237–7238. Cf. Vol. II, p. cxvi). The French lines, *R. de T.*, 5439–5440, quoted above, may be the source of Chaucer's line,

> "Save Ector, most y-drad of any wight " (*T. and C.*, iii, 1775).

Cf. Hamilton, p. 137.
[1] Such an influence is denied by Macaulay, who holds that the resemblance is not "sufficient of itself to prove imitation of Guido's expression" (*Academy*, XLVII, 298).
[2] Chaucer's statement in this line reminds us of the opening Dares' description,—" Briseidam formosam, *non alta statura* . . ." (p. 17, ll. 7–8). However, Chaucer's borrowing directly from Dares here seems unlikely from the fact that both Benoit and Guido have the same sense (*R. de T.*, 5276, "Ne fu petite ne trop grant " ; *Hist.*, sig. e 2 recto, col. 2, "nec longa nec brevis "), and the fact that in *Filostrato* (i, 34, 1) we are told that Troilo, in speaking of Griseida,

> "Lodava molto gli atti e la *statura*."

[3] Cf. *Filostrato*, i, 28, 8, "Gli occhi lucenti e l'angelico viso." Cf. *id.*, i, 27, 3–4 ; i, 11, 4–5 ; iv, 100, 3.
[4] *T. and C.*, v, 806–808, 813–817, 820–825.
[5] See *Filostrato*, i, 27, 1—28, 8. For example, Boccaccio's statement,

> "Ell' era grande . . ." (*Filostrato*, i, 27, 1),

is directly contradicted by Chaucer's line,

> " Criseyde mene was of hir stature " (*T. and C.*, v, 806).

of *Filostrato.* Numerous details in Chaucer's description have close parallels in the *Roman de Troie*,[1]—

> " Briseïda fu avenant :
> *Ne fu petite ne trop grant.*
> Plus esteit bele e bloie e blanche
> Que flor de lis ne neif sor branche ;
> *Mais les sorcilles li joigneient,*
> *Que auques li mesaveneient.*
> *Beaus ieuz aveit de grant maniere*
> E *mout esteit bele parliere.*
> Mout fu *de bon afaitement*
> E de *sage contenement.*
> Mout fu amee e mout amot,
> Mais *sis corages li chanjot ;*
> E si ert el mout vergondose,
> Simple e *aumosniere e pitose.*"[2]

Guido describes Briseida as follows :

" Briseida, autem, filia Calcas, multa fuit speciositate decora, nec longa nec brevis, nec nimium macilenta ; lacteo perfusa candore, genis roseis, flavis crinibus ; *sed superciliis iunctis, quorum junctura, dum multa pilositate tumesceret, modicam inconvenientiam praesentabat* ; oculis venusta ; multa fulgebat loquelae facundia, multa fuit pietate tractabilis ; multos traxit propter illecebras amatores, multosque dilexit, dum suis amatoribus animi constantiam non servasset."[3]

Apparently there are no details in Chaucer's description which he could not have found in Benoit's description quite as well as in Guido's,[4] whereas the English passages show striking verbal

[1] This comparison was made by Macaulay, in *Three More Parallel Texts,* Introduction, p. (a). Cf. *Academy,* XLVII, 298 ; Broatch, p. 26.

[2] *R. de T.,* 5275–5288.

[3] *Historia Troiana,* sig. e 2 recto, col. 2.

[4] Hamilton notes Chaucer's mention of "browes joyneden y-fere" as a "lak," and says (p. 82, note 1), "only in the *Historia* is the defect of the eyebrows emphasized." Cf. Professor Neilson in *Journal of Compar. Lit.,* I, 290. I believe that Chaucer's lines,

> " And save hir browes joyneden y-fere,
> Ther nas no lak . . ." (*T. and C.,* v, 813),

show just the same emphasis of this defect that we find in Benoit's lines,

> " Mais les sorcilles li joigneient,
> Que auques li mesaveneient."

To be sure, Guido adds a detail,—" dum multa pilositate tumesceret,"—which does not occur in Benoit ; but neither is this detail in any wise reflected in Chaucer. Chaucer and Benoit agree in this point *against* Guido. On the phrase " supercilia iuncta," see J. Fürst, *Philologus,* LXI, 385–388 ; G. P. Krapp, *Modern Lang. Notes,* XIX, 235 ; G. L. Hamilton, *Modern Lang. Notes,* XX, 80.

resemblances to the French of Benoit. I conclude, therefore, that Chaucer followed Benoit at this point, and that here the English author cannot be proved to have borrowed anything at all from Guido.[1]

As part of his account of the *innamoramento* of Troilus, Chaucer writes,

> ". . . *the god of love* gan loken rowe
> Right for despyt, and shoop for to ben wroken;
> He kidde anoon his bowe nas not broken;
> For *sodeynly he hit him at the fulle*."[2]

In *Filostrato* we find,

> "Senza pensare in che *il ciel s'affretti*
> Di recar lui, il quale *amor trafisse*
> *Più ch'alcun altro* . . ."[3]

It has been held[4] that, since the Italian lines are an inadequate source for the English passage, Chaucer probably followed a passage in Guido's account of the *innamoramento* of Achilles and Polyxena, the French original of which served Boccaccio in his account of the *innamoramento* of Troilo.[5] The Latin passage in question is as follows:

"Et dum desiderabili animo in eam Achilles suum defixisset intuitum, sagitta Cupidinis fortem Achillem subito vulneravit et ad interiora pertransiens cordis ejus."[6]

I cannot see that the Latin passage could have served as a source of the English lines any better than could the Italian lines. Boccaccio provides a parallel for Chaucer's "god of love," as Guido does not. If Chaucer needed to be reminded that the "god of love" uses a "bowe," he may have been inspired by Guido's "sagitta," or by Boccaccio's later line,—

> "Saette che per te m'entrar nel petto."[7]

---

[1] I cannot accept the opinion of Dr. Hamilton, pp. 81–82.

[2] *T. and C.*, i, 206–209. Cf. *Lenvoy de Chaucer to Scogan*, ll. 25–27.

[3] *Filostrato*, i, 25, 6–8.

[4] See Hamilton, pp. 71–3; and see *Journal of Comparative Literature*, I, 289.

[5] See above, pp. 35 ff.

[6] *Historia Troiana*, sig. k 2 verso, col. 2. Benoit has no adequate parallel. Cf. *R. de T.* (Joly), 17510–17559.

[7] *Filostrato*, iv, 146, 6. Chaucer's

> ". . . soydenly he hit him at the fulle" (*T. and C.*, i, 209),

may or may not be nearer to Guido's,

> "Subito vulneravit et ad interiora pertransiens cordis ejus,"

In further describing the *innamoramento* of Troilus, Chaucer writes,

> " And sodeynly he wex ther-with astoned,
> And gan hire bet biholde in thrifty wyse :
> ' O mercy, god ! ' thoughte he, ' wher hastow woned,
> That art so fair and goodly to devyse ? '
> Ther-with his herte gan to sprede and ryse,
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .
> And after that hir loking gan she lighte,
> That *never thoughte him seen so good a sighte.*
>
> And of hir look in him ther gan to quiken
> *So greet desir,* and swich affeccioun,
> That in *his hertes botme gan to stiken*
> Of hir his fixe and depe impressioun :
> And though he erst hadde poured up and doun,
> He was tho glad his hornes in to shrinke ;
> *Unnethes wiste he how to loke or winke.*" [1]

A possible source for the English passages has been pointed out [2] in the following passages in Guido's account of Achilles' love affair :

" Achilles igitur dum Polixenam inspexit et ejus est pulchritudinem contemplatus vere *suo concepit in animo nunquam se vidisse puellam nec aliquam aliam mulierem tantae pulchritudinis forma vigere.* . . . Qui dum in eam frequentius intuendo sibi ipsi placere putaret et lenire *grave desiderium cordis sui majoris scissurae* cordis vulneris seipsum sibi reddebat actorem. . . . Quid ultra, amore Polixenae nimium illaqueatus, *Achilles nescit ipse quid faciat.* . . . Propter quod dilatat amplius plagas suas et *sui amoris vulnera magis sui cordis attrahit in profundum.*" [3]

Though we may well admit the possibility of Guido's influence upon Chaucer at this point, some consideration should be given to Boccaccio's lines,

> " E diessi più a mirare il suo aspetto,
> Il qual più ch'altro degno in sè gli pare
> Di molta lode. . . ." [4]

---

than to the Italian,

> ". . . che il ciel s'affretti
> Di recar lui, il quale amor trafisse
> Più ch'alcun altro. . . ."

[1] *T. and C.*, i, 274–278, 293–301.

[2] Hamilton, pp. 73–4.    Cf. Neilson, *Journal of Compar. Lit.*, I, 289–290.

[3] *Historia*, sig. k 2 verso, col. 2—k 3 recto, col. 1.    The *Roman de Troie* has no close parallel.

[4] *Filostrato*, i, 28, 4–6.    With the English passages compare also,

Moreover, the English passage may show the influence also of Boccaccio's account of his own *innamoramento* near the beginning of *Filocolo*,[1] in which the following passage may be noted :

". . . apparve agli occhi miei *la mirabile bellezza della prescritta giovane* . . . la quale sì tosto *com'io ebbi veduta il cuore cominciò sì forte a tremare* . . . e non sappiendo perchè, nè ancora sentendo quello che egli già s'immaginava che avvenire gli dovea per la nuova vista, incominciai a dire : *oimè, che è questo.* . . . Ma dopo alquanto spazio, rassicurato un poco, presi ardire, e intentivamente cominciai a rimirare ne' begli occhi dell'adorna giovane . . . di quindi col piagato cuore partito mi fui."[2]

The name of Troilus's supposed rival occurs as *Horaste* in the lines,

> "'How that ye sholde love oon that hatte Horaste,'
>
> . . . . . . .
>
> '*Horaste !* allas ! and falsen Troilus ?'"[3]

The fact that Benoit always writes *Orestes*,[4] while Guido has *Horestes*,[5] may be a slender indication that in this detail Chaucer is influenced by Guido.[6]

Chaucer tells us that in exchange for Antenor, the Trojans delivered to the Greeks both Thoas and Criseyde,—

> "And of this thing ful sone his nedes leyde
> On hem that sholden for the tretis go,
> And hem for Antenor ful ofte preyde
> To bringen hoom *king Toas and Criseyde.*"[7]

In *Filostrato*, Thoas is not mentioned, and Griseida is exchanged directly for Antenor.[8]  It may be said that Chaucer's innovation

---

"Ço li est vis que molt est bele ;

. . . .

Onques hom plus bele ne'vit"

(*R. de T.* Joly, 17556–17558).

[1] *Filocolo*, I, 4–7.  See above, pp. 40 ff.  As to Chaucer's use of *Filocolo*, see Chapter IV.

[2] *Id.*, I, 5–6.                [3] *T. and C.*, iii, 797, 806.

[4] See *R. de T.* (Joly), 27958, 28157, 28166, 28182.

[5] See *Historia*, sig. n 5 verso, col. 2 ; n 6 recto, col. 2.

[6] See Hamilton, p. 97.  In the absence of a critical text of the *Historia Troiana* and of the part of the *Roman de Troie* under discussion, probably only limited inferences can be drawn from such slight variations in the spelling of a proper name.

[7] *T. and C.*, iv, 135–138.  Cf. Hertzberg, *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, VI, 203 ; Kissner, *Chaucer in seinen Beziehungen zur italienischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1867, p. 23 ; Hamilton, pp. 104–105.

[8] See *Filostrato*, iv, 78, 7–8 ; 10, 4–6 ; 12, 7–8.  See above, p. 8.  Hamilton notes (p. 105, note 2) that according to Harleian MS. 1239, Chaucer agrees with Boccaccio in omitting Thoas from the episode ; but this variant is evidently due to a scribe's error and signifies nothing.

could have originated either in Benoit's poem or in Guido's *Historia*, both of which mention the exchange of Antenor and Thoas.[1] However, Guido alone associates Briseida directly with the exchange of the two warriors. This fact will appear when we analyze the two accounts.[2] Benoit first tells us that Antenor and Thoas are exchanged, to the great satisfaction of both sides.[3] Then Calchas makes a separate request,—in no wise connecting it with this exchange,—that the Greek chieftains ask Priam to deliver Briseida to them.[4] Priam grants this request, in no wise connecting it with the exchange previously made.[5] According to Guido the procedure is the same,[6] except that Priam releases Briseida in explicit connection with the exchange of Antenor and Thoas,—

"Sed rex Priamus ad petitionem Graecorum *inter commutationem Anthenoris et regis Thoas Breseidam Graecis voluntarie relaxavit*."[7]

It may be, then, that Chaucer's innovation of connecting Criseyde and Thoas in the exchange for Antenor was suggested by the close association of these three characters in the *Historia Troiana*.

Criseyde's venting of her grief over the news of the approaching separation from Troilus is shown in the following lines :

> "And fond that she hir-selven gan to trete
> Ful pitously ; for *with hir salte teres*
> *Hir brest, hir face y-bathed was ful wete ;*
> The mighty tresses of hir sonnish heres,
> Unbroyden, hangen al aboute hir eres ;
> Which *yaf him verray signal of martyre*
> Of deeth, which that hir herte gan desyre."[8]

There can be no doubt that Chaucer is here following in the main Boccaccio's parallel description,—

> "El vide lei in sul letto avviluppata
> Ne'singhiozzi, nel pianto e ne'sospiri ;
> *E'l petto tutto e la faccia bagnata*
> *Di lacrime le vide,* ed in disiri
> Di pianger gli occhi suoi, e *scapigliata,*
> *Dar vero segno degli aspri martirj.*"[9]

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[1] Cf. *R. de T.*, 13079–13085 ; *Historia*, sig. i 1 recto, col. 2—verso, col. 1.
[2] See above, p. 8.   [3] *R. de T.*, 13079–13085.
[4] *Id.*, 13086–13098.   [5] *Id.*, 13099–13120.
[6] *Historia Troiana*, sig. i 1 recto, col. 2.
[7] *Id.*, sig. i 1 verso, col. 1.   See T. E. Oliver, *Jacques Milet's Drama* "*La Destruction de Troye la Grant,*" Heidelberg, 1899, p. 98.
[8] *T. and C.*, iv, 813–819.   [9] *Filostrato*, iv, 96, 1–6.

It has been maintained,[1] however, that the English lines,

> " The mighty tresses of hir sonnish heres
> Unbroyden, hangen al aboute hir eres ; "

show the influence of a phrase of Guido's in his similar description,—

" . . . et aureos crines suos a lege ligaminis absolutos . . . divellit." [2]

In view of Boccaccio's word, " scapigliata," in the Italian passage above, and of his other line,

> " E i biondi crin tirandosi rompea," [3]

I think Guido's influence upon the English lines is not easy to demonstrate. Moreover, I believe that the demonstration is definitely vitiated by such a passage as the following, describing the heroine of *Filocolo*, a work which, as we shall see,[4] Chaucer certainly used in writing Troilus :

" . . . i begli occhi pieni di lagrime, e i biondi capelli senza alcun maestrevole legamento attorti e avviluppati al capo." [5]

It has been suggested also [6] that the same brief passage from Guido may be the source of Chaucer's later passage describing Criseyde,—

> " And ofte tyme this was hir manere,
> To *gon y-tressed with-hir heres clere*
> *Doun by hir coler at hir bak bihinde,*
> *Which with a threde of gold she wolde binde.*" [7]

In view of the somewhat conventional nature of this description [8] and of the parallel in Boccaccio's *Teseide*,—

> " Ella avea d'oro i crini, et rilegati
> Intorno al capo senza treccia alcuna," [9]—

[1] See Hamilton, pp. 77–79.   [2] *Historia*, sig. i 2 recto, col. 2.
[3] *Filostrato*, iv, 87, 7.   [4] See below, Chapter IV.
[5] *Filocolo*, I, 188.   Cf. *Filocolo*, I, 121,—

"Ella non si curava mai di mettere i suoi biondi capelli con sottile maestria in dilicato ordine."

[6] Skeat (Vol. II, pp. lviii–lix) made this suggestion and Broatch (pp. 17–18) rejected it.   Hamilton (p. 79) revived Skeat's suggestion.
[7] *T. and C.*, v, 809–812.
[8] See *The Court of Love*, ll. 138–140 (edited by Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. VII, Oxford, 1897, pp. 409 ff.   Cf. *id.*, pp. 542–3).   See also *Kyng Alisaunder*, ll. 207–208 (H. Weber, *Metrical Romances*, Vol. I, Edinburgh, 1810, p. 14).
[9] *Teseide* (*Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Vol. IX, Firenze, Moutier, 1831), vii, 65, 1–2.   Cf. Hamilton, p. 79, note 2.

the influence of Guido here will probably never be demonstrated.[1]

In another part of his description of Criseyde's grief, Chaucer writes,

> "Hir ounded heer, that sonnish was of hewe,
> She rente, and eek hir fingres longe and smale
> She wrong ful ofte, and bad god on hir rewe,
> And with the deeth to doon bote on hir bale," [2]—

a passage in which he is certainly using Boccaccio's lines,

> "E i biondi crin tirandosi rompea,
> E mille volte ognor morte chiedea." [3]

Filostrato, however, offers no parallel to Chaucer's detail,—

> ". . . and eek hir fingres longe and smale
> She wrong ful ofte . . . ,"—

which, it has been surmised, may show the influence of such passages as the following from Guido's extravagant addition to Benoit's more restrained account of Briseida's grief :

" *Unguibus etiam. suis sua tenerrima ora dilacerabat* . . . et dum *rigidis unguibus* suas maxillas exarat rubeo cruore pertinctas, lacerata lilia laceratis rosis immisceri similitudinarie videbantur." [4]

I do not see that the Latin passage contains an exact parallel to Chaucer's detail.   Moreover, before admitting Guido's direct influence here we should not overlook such passages as the following, describing the heroine of *Filocolo*,—

---

[1] Since Dr. Hamilton was bent upon showing Guido's influence upon the Chaucerian passages before us, he might have cited also Guido's description of Polyxena,—

"Polixena in multorum mulierum nobilium comitiva, quae sparsis per earum pectora et terga capillis, flebiles gemitus . . . producebant" (*Historia*, sig. k 2 verso, col. 1).

"Sicque eius aurea et flavea caesaries in multis dispersa capillis auri similitudinem presentabat ut quasi non viderentur esse capilli sed coniuncta potius auri fila" (*id.*, sig. k 2 verso, col. 2).

[2] *T. and C.*, iv, 736–739.          [3] *Filostrato*, iv, 87, 7–8.

[4] *Historia*, sig. i 2 recto, col. 2.   The latter part of the Latin passage might conceivably be the source of Chaucer's line,

> "Hir hewe, whylom bright, that tho was pale"
>
> (*T. and C.*, iv, 740),

which, however, is tolerably close to Boccaccio's

> ". . . le fresche guance e delicate
> Pallide e magre l'eran divenute" (*Filostrato*, vi 1, 6–7).

Cf. Hamilton, p. 80, note 1.

". . . ella s'avrebbe i biondi capelli dilaniati e guasti, e'l bel viso senza niuna pietà lacerato con crudeli unghie, stracciandosi i neri drappi significanti la futura morte." [1]

From the evidence before me I conclude that no more than the remote possibility of Guido's influence at this point has been established.

According to Chaucer, Criseyde gives to Troilus a considerable account of the style in which she intends to berate her father. [2] In this speech occur the following expressions concerning heathen deities :

> " I shal him so enchaunten with my sawes,
> That right in hevene his sowle is, shal he mete !
> For al Appollo, or his clerkes lawes,
> Or calculinge avayleth nought three hawes.
>
> .   .   .   .   .   .   .   .
>       . . . and *beren him on honde*,
> *He hath not wel the goddes understonde*,
> For goddes speken in amphibologyes,
> And, for a sooth, *they tellen twenty lyes*.
>
> Eek drede fond first goddes, I suppose,
> Thus shal I seyn, and that his coward herte
> Made him amis the goddes text to glose,
> Whan he for ferde out of his Delphos sterte." [3]

These English passages have no direct parallel in *Filostrato*. [4] In Benoit's account of Briseida's upbraiding of her father we read,

> " Trop i mesfist dant Apollin,
> Se il tel respons vos dona
> Ne se il ço vos comanda.
> Maudiz seit hui icist augurs,
> Icist dons e icist eürs,
> Qu'a si grant honte vos revert ! " [5]

Guido represents this French passage by the following :

" Sane *deceperunt te Appollinis falsa responsa* a quo te dicis suscepisse mandatum ut tuos paternos lares desereres et tuos in tanta acerbitate peierares et ut sic tuis specialiter hostibus adhereres. Sane non fuit ille deus Appollo sed potius puto fuit comitiva infernalium furiarum a quibus responsa talia suscepisti." [6]

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[1] *Filocolo*, I, 176.   [2] See *T. and C.*, iv, 1366–1414.
[3] *Id.*, iv, 1395–8, 1404–11.
[4] In another connection *Filostrato* has (vii, 90, 7–8),
       " Non t' ha di questo il vero assai mostrato
         Il tuo Apollo, il qual di' c' hai gabbato."
[5] *R. de T.*, 13768–13773.   [6] *Historia Troiana*, sig. i 3 recto, col. 1.

Certainly Criseyde's words are nearer to the Latin passage than to the French.[1]

As part of the conclusion of his poem Chaucer himself arraigns heathen practices in the following vigorous words :

> " Lo here, of payens corsed olde rytes,
> Lo here, what alle hir goddes may availle ;
> Lo here, these wrecched worldes appetytes ;
> Lo here, the fyn and guerdon for travaille
> Of Jove, Appollo, of Mars, of swich rascaille !
> Lo here, the forme of olde clerkes speche
> In poetrye, if ye hir bokes seche." [2]

It has been conjectured that this passage shows the influence of Guido's invective against idolatry,—one of his most conspicuous additions to his French source.[3]   Although this invective is not directly connected with the story of Troilus and Briseida, and although there are no resemblances in detail between Chaucer and Guido at this point, no one can deny the possibility that the Latin invective may have influenced the English passage.   However, the English lines,

> ". . . corsed olde rytes,
>
> Lo here, the fyn and guerdon for travaille," [4]

may show the influence of the French lines,

> " Maudiz seit hui icist augurs,
> Icist dons e icist eürs,
> Qu'a si grant honte vos revert !" [5]

Moreover, we should notice Hecuba's outburst against heathen deities and heathen practices as she mourns beside the dead body of Troilus,—

> " Ahi lasse, quel portéure,
> Et com dolerose aventure !
> Ahi reis Mars, reis Jupiter,
> Ahi Pluto, li Deu d'enfer,
> Quel merveille, quel cruelté !
>
> Tant sacrefice vos ai fait,
> Tant riche tenple preciox.
> Par ço m'estes si haïnox,

---

[1] See Skeat, Vol. II, p. lvii ; Broatch, pp. 16, 20.
[2] T. and C., v, 1849–1855.
[3] Historia, sig. e 4 verso, col. 1—e 6 recto, col 1.  Cf. Skeat, Vol II, pp. lx–lxi : Hamilton, pp. 90–92.
[4] T. and C., v, 1849, 1852.                    [5] R. de T., 13771-3.

> Que plus ne me poez grever,
> Ne me poez mès bien doner.
> De mortal geu, de plorement,
> De bret, de cri, de ullement
> Avez enplies mes entrailles ;
> Ici a trop dures batailles ! " [1]

Hecuba's outburst may fairly be said to stand at the end of Benoit's story of Troilus, and may well have influenced the similar passage at the end of *Troilus and Criseyde*. We may conclude, then, that in his remarks concerning heathen worship Chaucer was probably influenced rather more directly by Benoit than by Guido.

According to Chaucer, Criseyde responds as follows to Diomedes' first amorous approach :

> " Criseide un-to that purpos *lyte answerde*,
> As she that was *with sorwe oppressed* so
> That, in effect, she nought his tales herde,
> But here and there, now here a word or two.
> Hir thoughte hir *sorwful herte* brast a-two.
> For whan she gan hir fader fer aspye,
> Wel neigh doun of hir hors she gan to sye.
>
> But natheles *she thonked Diomede*
> Of al his travaile and his goode chere,
> And that him liste *his friendship hir to bede ;*
> And she accepteth it in good manere,
> And wolde do fayn that is him leef and dere ;
> And trusten him she wolde, and wel she mighte,
> As seyde she, and from hir hors she alighte." [2]

Guido reports Briseida's reply as follows :

" Sed Briseida in ipsis primis motibus, ut mulierum est moris, suum præstare recusavit assensum. Nec tamen passa est quin post multa Diomedis verba ipsum nolens a spe sua deijcere verbis humilibus dixit ei : 'Amoris tui oblationem ad presens nec repudio nec admitto, cum cor meum nunc non sit ita dispositum quod tibi possim aliter respondere.'" [3]

Surely Guido's Latin provides no very close parallel to the English passage before us,[4] whereas Benoit assigns to Briseida a much longer reply,[5] in which certain verbal similarities to Chaucer's abridgment will appear from the following passages :

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[1] *R. de T.* (Joly), 21679–21683, 21698–21706. Guido (*Historia*, sig. l 3 verso, col. 1) has no similar passage.
[2] *T. and C.*, v, 176–189.      [3] *Historia*, sig. i 2 verso, col. 1.
[4] See Hamilton, pp. 114–115.
[5] See *R. de T.*, 13617–13680. Cf. 13706–13712.

> " Briseïda fu sage e proz,
> Respondi li e *a briés moz :*
>
> . .    .     .      .      .
> Qui tant a ire e *esmaiance*
> E en *son cuer duel e pesance*
> Come jo ai, mout li tient poi
> D'amors ne de bien ne de joi.
>
> .      .      .      .      .
> Si poëz bien estre certains,
> S'a ço me voleie aproismier,
> Nul plus de vos n'avreie chier.
>
> .     .      .      .      .
> Ainz que venist al desevrer,
> Si a *crié cent feiz merci,*
> *Que de lui face son ami.*" [1]

From the passages before us I see no reason for supposing that the
English lines are based upon Guido rather than upon Benoit.[2]

In one detail, however,—

> " For whan she gan hir fader fer aspye,
> Wel neigh doun of hir hors she gan to sye.
>
> .      .      .      .      .      .      .      .
>      . . . and *from hir hors she alighte,*" [3]—

Chaucer may possibly show the influence of Guido, who writes,

" Quare associavit eam usque ad locum quo Briseida recipere in
sui patris tentoria se debebat, et ea perveniente ibidem, ipse eam,
*ab equo descendens,* promptus adivit," [4]—

though it is to be noted that here it is evidently Diomedes who
dismounts, and not Briseida, as in the English passage.    Benoit
does not so explicitly mention the detail of the dismounting.[5]

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[1] *R. de T.,* 13617–13618, 13637–13640, 13676–13678, 13706–13708.    Cf.
Hertzberg, *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft,* VI, 203 ; Broatch,
pp. 17, 18, 27.    In connection with the phrase, *crier . . . merci,* see below,
p. 124, note 2.

[2] For a contrary opinion, see Hamilton, pp. 114–115.

[3] *T. and C.,* v, 181–182, 189, quoted above.

[4] *Historia,* sig. i 2 verso, col. 1.    Cf. Hamilton, p. 119, note 2.

[5] Benoit writes,

> " Mout deïst plus Diomedès,
> Mais ja erent des tentes près :
>
> .      .      .      .      .
> A tant Calcas i est venuz,
> Qui contre li s'en fu eissuz "
>                      (*R. de T.,* 13703–4, 13713–4).

Cf., however, *R. de T.,* 13846–7,—

> " Quant la danzele fu el tref,
> Ou *sis conduiz l'ot descendue.*"

In his account of Criseyde's later reply to Diomedes, Chaucer
assigns to his heroine these words,

> " I sey not therfore that I wol yow love,
> *Ne I sey not* nay, but in conclusioun,
> *I mene wel, by god that sit above,*" [1]

which several writers [2] have held to be based upon a passage in
Guido's account of Briseida's first reply to Diomedes,—

" Amoris tui oblationem ad presens nec repudio nec admitto." [3]

In Benoit we find the following :

> " Soz ciel n'a si riche pucele
> Ne si preisiee ne si bele,
> Por ço que rien vousist amer,
> Que pas vos deüst refuser :
> *Ne jo nos refus autrement.*
> Mais n'ai corage ne talent
> Que vos ne autre aim aparmains ;
> Si poëz bien estre certains,
> S'a ço me voleie aproismier,
> Nul plus de vos n'avreie chier.
> Mais n'en ai pensé ne voleir,
> *Ne ja Deus nel me doint aveir !*" [4]

I do not believe that the verbal resemblance between the English
lines and the Latin are sufficiently striking to preclude the
possibility of Chaucer's having used the French passage before us.
Moreover, the similarities between other passages in this part of
the English poem and passages in the part of Benoit's poem that
we are now considering seem to strengthen the probability that at
this point Chaucer is using the *Roman de Troie* rather than the
*Historia Troiana,*—

> " If that I sholde of any Greek han routhe,
> It sholde be your-selven, by my trouthe !" [5]
>
> " Si poëz bien estre certains,
> S'a ço me voleie aproismier,
> Nul plus de vos n'avreie chier." [6]

[1] *T. and C.*, v, 1002–1004.
[2] Cf. Kissner, p. 24 ; Skeat, Vol. II, p. lix ; Hamilton, pp. 83–84.
[3] *Historia*, sig. i 2 verso, col. 1.
[4] *R. de T.*, 13669–13680.  Cf. Broatch, p. 18.
[5] *T. and C.*, v, 1000–1001.                    [6] *R. de T.*, 13676–8.

> "This Diomede al freshly newe ayeyn
>   Gan pressen on, and faste *hir mercy preye*." [1]

> "Preier convient Diomedes
>   Qui tant aime que ne puet mès.
>   Sovent li vait *merci crier*." [2]

> "*Hir glove he took, of which he was ful fayn*." [3]
> "*Un de ses guanz li a toleit*,
>   Que nus nel set ne aparceit :
>   *Mout s'en fait liez . . .*" [4]

Chaucer tells us that after her second reply to Diomedes Criseyde retired to her father's tent,

> "Retorning in hir soule ay up and doun
>   The wordes of this sodein Diomede." [5]

As the source of the first of these lines one writer [6] has suggested a phrase used by Guido in a different connection,—

> "Multa tamen in sua mente revolvit." [7]

However, there is no proof whatever that Chaucer, who on the whole is following Benoit at this point, went to another part of Guido's work for a phrase that he had already used twice in *Troilus* in close translation from *Filostrato*. [8]

[1] *T. and C.*, v, 1010-11.

[2] *R. de T.* (Joly), 14983-5.   Cf. Hamilton, p. 114, note 3.   On the meaning of *merci crier*, see Littré, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Française*, Tome II, Partie I$^e$, Paris, 1869.

[3] *T. and C.*, v, 1013.

[4] *R. de T.*, 13709-13711.   On this detail, see Hertzberg, p. 203 ; Macaulay, *Academy*, XLVII, 298 ; Broatch, pp. 17, 18 ; Hamilton, pp. 118-119.   Skeat says (Vol. II, p. lix) that Chaucer's detail is "obviously from Guido," who has, to be sure, "unam de cirothecis quam Briseida gerebat in manu ab ea, nullo percipiente, furtive subtraxit" (*Historia Troiana*, sig. i 2 verso, cols. 1-2).

[5] *T. and C.*, v, 1023-4.          [6] See Hamilton, p. 85.

[7] *Historia*, sig. l 1 recto, col. 1.   One might cite also Guido's phrase concerning Medea,—"multa inter se cogitatione revolvit" (*Historia*, sig. a 7 recto, col. 2), and the phrase in *Filocolo*, "nella mente tornandole alcuna volta Florio" (I, 323).

[8] *T. and C.*, ii, 601-2,—

> "And every word gan up and doun to winde,
>   That he hadde seyd, as it com hir to minde,"—

is a translation of *Filostrato*, ii, 68, 3-4,—

> "Seco nel cuor ciascuna paroletta
>   Rivolvendo di Pandaro e novella."

Criseyde's final succumbing to Diomedes is recounted by Chaucer in the following summary:

> "I finde eek in the stories elles-where,
> Whan *through the body hurt was Diomede*
> *Of Troilus,* tho *weep she many a tere,*
> Whan that she saugh his *wyde woundes* blede ;
> And that she *took to kepen him good hede,*
> And for to hele him of his sorwes smerte,
> Men seyn, I not, that *she yaf him hir herte.*" [1]

Chaucer is evidently summarizing Benoit's account, in which occur the following passages:

> "Quant Diomedes fu navrez,
> Et la fille Calcas le sot,
> Conforta s'en al mielz que pot ;
> Mès n'en puet pas son cuer covrir
> Que plor, et lermes, et sospir,
> N'issent de li a negun fuer.
> Bien fet senblant que de son cuer
> L'aime sor tote rien vivant.
>
> . . . . . .
> Molt fu perillose la plaie ;
>
> . . . . . .
> Et ele en plore o les deus ielz.
>
> . . . . . .
> Que vers lui a tot atorné
> S'amor, son cuer et son pensé.
>
> . . . . . .
> 'Trop ai en lui ja mon cuer mis.'" [2]

---

Cf. *T. and C.*, ii, 659-660.
   *T. and C.*, iii, 1541-2,—

> "And in his thought gan up and doun to winde
> Hir wordes alle . . .,"—

is a translation of *Filostrato*, iii, 54, 1-2,—

> "E giva ciascun atto rivolgendo
> Nel suo pensiero . . ."

Cf. Hamilton, p. 85, note 4, who quotes these passages.
   [1] *T. and C.*, v, 1044-1050.
   [2] *R. de T.* (Joly), 20194-20201, 20211, 20213, 20219-20220, 20271.   The English line,

> "Whan through the body hurt was Diomede,"

may be due to the French lines in the early part of the *Roman de Troie,* ll. 557-8,—

> "Come il [*i. e.,* Troilus] *navra Diomedès*
> *Par mi le cors* de plain eslais."

Cf. Broatch, pp. 19, 25, 26 ; Hamilton, pp. 122-124 ; ten Brink, *Geschichte der Englischen Literatur,* Vol. II, Strassburg, 1893, p. 95.

Although Guido's account in general lacks the details of the English passage which are supplied by Benoit,[1] it has been maintained [2] that the last two lines of the English passage,—

> "And for to hele him of his sorwes smerte,
> Men seyn, I not, that she yaf him hir herte,"[3]—

are based upon the following passage in the *Historia Troiana* :

"Totum suum animum . . . in Diomedis declinat et convertit amorem . . . sed quam primum convalescentiam fuerit adeptus, absolute facere velle suum, cum in ejus amore tota deferveat et flagranti desiderio penitus incalescat,"[4]—

which is Guido's "account of the subsequent action of the heroine."[5]   Yet Chaucer's phrase,—

> ". . . she yaf him hir herte,"—

has close verbal parallels in the French passages already before us, and the sense of the two English lines, and a clear indication of the "subsequent action of the heroine," are contained in the following lines from Briseida's final soliloquy in Benoit's poem,—a soliloquy for which Guido has no parallel,—

> "Mès or m'estuot à ço torner
> Et mon corage et mon penser,
> Voïle ou ne voille desormès,
> Confetement Diomedes
> Seit d'amors à mei entendanz,
> Si qu'il en seit liez et joianz,
> Et gie de lui, puisque si est.
> Or truis mon cuer garni et prest
> De fere ço qui lui plera :
> Ja plus orgoil n'i trovera.
> Par parole l'ai tant amené,
> Qu'or li ferai sa volonté
> Et son pleisir et son voleir."[6]

I believe that Guido's *Historia* had no influence whatever upon the English passage under consideration.[7]

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[1] See *Historia*, sig. k 6 verso, col. 2 ; l 1 recto, col. 1.   Professor Skeat (Vol. II, p. lx), without examining Benoit's poem, refers the English passage to Guido.

[2] Hamilton, p. 86.

[3] *T. and C.*, v, 1049–1050.

[4] *Historia*, sig. l 1 recto, col. 1.

[5] Hamilton, p. 86.

[6] *R. de T.* (Joly), 20317–20329.

[7] In view of the similarities between the French and English passages before us I see no possibility of establishing a connection between Guido's "convalescentiam " and Chaucer's verb, "hele."

It has been held that the lines,

> " Allas ! that they shulde ever cause finde
>   To speke hir harm ; and if they on hir lye,
>   Y-wis, hem-self sholde han the vilanye," [1]

are a direct reference to Guido's scathing remarks on Briseida's
faithlessness.[2]   However, not only does Benoit likewise condemn
the heroine's inconstancy,[3] but he also writes a passage in which
he seems to anticipate just such an expression as Chaucer's,—

> " De cest, veir, criem g'estre blasmez
>   De cele que tant a bontez
>   Que hautece a, pris e valor,
>   Honesté e sen e honor,
>   Bien e mesure e saintée,
>   E noble largece e beauté ;
>   En cui mesfait de dames maint
>   Sont par le bien de li esteint." [4]

Apparently the English lines are rather more definitely suggested
by Benoit than by Guido.

Chaucer's brief description of Hector's death at the hands of
Achilles is contained in the lines,

> " For as he *drough a king by thaventayle*,
>   Unwar of this, Achilles through the mayle
>   And through the body gan him for to ryve ;
>   And thus this worthy knight was brought of lyve." [5]

Probably no one now doubts that Chaucer is here following the
account in Benoit's poem,[6]—

> " Hector a *un rei abatu,*
>   Prendre le volt et retenir,
>   Et as lor par force tolir :
>   *Par la ventaille le teneit,*
>   Fors de la presse le traeit,
>   De son escu iert descoverz ;
>   Et quant l'aparceit li coverz,
>   Vers lui broche dreit lo destrier,

---

[1] *T. and C.*, iv, 19–21.

[2] *Historia*, sig. i 2 recto, col. 2—verso, col. 1 ; i 3 recto, col. 2.   See
Hamilton, pp. 125–6, 139.

[3] See *R. de T.*, 13429–13494, 13859–13866.   Cf. Hamilton, p. 126, note 1.

[4] *R. de T.*, 13457–13464.          [5] *T. and C.*, v, 1558–1561.

[6] Hertzberg (p. 204), Macaulay (*Three More Parallel Texts*, p. (b); *Academy*,
XLVII, 298), Broatch (pp. 19, 21, 24), and Hamilton (p. 90, note 1) believe
that Chaucer is here following Benoit.   Skeat (pp. lx, 503), without a sufficient
examination of Benoit, assigned the English passage to Guido.

> Nel pot souffrir hauberc doublier
> Que le feie et le polmon
> Ne li espandist sor l'arçon ;
> Molt le trebuche toz envers." [1]

One writer, however, holds that, although Chaucer is following the French, one of his phrases,—

> " Unwar of this . . ."—

" of which the syntactical position . . . offers difficulty, is best explained by a comparison with the parallel passage in Guido," [2]— a passage which reads,

" Achilles . . . accepta quadam lancea valde forti *non advertente Hectore,* velociter in Hectorem irruit." [3]

That Chaucer, while rendering a passage from the *Roman de Troie,* should fall into a syntactical difficulty because he was pestered by an "ablative absolute" in Guido's text does not seem likely. Moreover, that there is a syntactical difficulty here at all must not be admitted without question. Since the Chaucerian passage is perfectly intelligible, and since the supposed troublesome word order seems to accord with Chaucer's usage elsewhere, [4] I do not believe that we need connect the English phrase with Guido's "*non advertente Hectore,*" which might, or might not, explain it.

In referring to the last encounters of Troilus and Diomedes Chaucer writes,

> " And ofte tyme, I finde that they mette
> With blody strokes and with wordes grete,
> Assayinge how hir speres weren whette ;
> And god it woot, with many a cruel hete
> Gan Troilus upon his helm to-bete." [5]

---

[1] *R. de T.* (Joly), 16166–16177.  On the meaning of *ventaille,* see Hamilton, *Modern Philology,* III, 541–546.
[2] Hamilton, p. 89.                    [3] *Historia,* sig. i 6 recto, col. 1.
[4] See, for example,

> " *Unwiting of this Dorigen at al,*
> This lusty squyer, servant to Venus,
> Which that y-cleped was Aurelius,
> Had loved hir best of any creature "
> (*Canterbury Tales,* F 936–939) ;

> " Now hadde Calkas left, in this meschaunce,
> *Al unwist of this false and wikked dede,*
> His doughter, which that was in gret penaunce "
> (*T. and C.,* i, 92–94).

[5] *T. and C.,* v, 1758–1762.

The English passage is clearly based upon Boccaccio's lines,

> " E spesse volte assieme s' avvisaro
> Con rimproveri cattivi e villani,
> E di gran colpi fra lor si donaro,
> Talvolta urtando, e talor nelle mani
> Le spade avendo . . .," [1]

with the additional influence, if such be necessary, of passages like the following from the *Roman de Troie:*

> " A ferir d'espée et de lance,
> Tel geu voleient comencier,
> O les clers trenchanz branz d'acier,
> De quei les testes lor seignassent.
>
> .   .   .   .   .   .   .
> Ala [*i. e.*, Troylus] ferir Diomedes
> D'une lance grosse et poignal
>
> .   .   .   .   .   .
> Et altretant espées nues,
> Qui sor hialmes furent ferues." [2]

In view of the Italian and French passages before us, I see no possibility of establishing an intimate relation between Chaucer's line,

> " Assayinge how hir speres weren whette,"

and Guido's expression,

> " . . se graviter impetunt in duris ictibus lancearum." [3]

In referring to the authorities on the history of Troy, Chaucer in one place writes,

> " But the Troyane gestes, as they felle,
> In Omer, or in Dares, or in *Dyte*,
> Who-so that can, may rede hem as they *wryte*." [4]

Benoit refers to these same authorities in the lines,

> " Mais tant fu Omers de grant pris
> E tant fist puis, si com jo truis,
> Que sis livres fu receüz
> E en autorité tenuz.
>
> .   .   .   .   .   .
> Tant i a quis e reversé
> Qu'entre les autres a trové

---

[1] *Filostrato*, viii, 26, 1–5.
[2] *R. de T.* (Joly), 15588–91, 20066–67, 20107–8.  Cf. Hamilton, p. 129, note 4.
[3] *Historia*, sig. i 5 verso, col. 1.   Cf. Hamilton, p. 129, note 4.
[4] *T. and C.*, i, 145–147.

> L'estoire que Daire ot *escrite*,
> En greque langue faite e dite," [1]

the last line reading in two manuscripts,

> " Et en lengue *greçoise dite*." [2]

Guido makes a similar reference to previous writers,—

" Ab Homeri tamen fictionibus noluit in aliquibus abstinere . . .
eaque per *Ditem Grecum* et Phrigium Daretem . . .," [3]—

a passage in writing which Guido evidently mistook Benoit's
" greçoise *dite*" for the proper name.[4]   Since Benoit nowhere uses
the spelling " *Dite*" for the proper name, but always " *Ditis*," [5]
or " *Dithis*," [6] some may hold that Chaucer's " *Dyte*" is due to
Guido's " *Ditem*." [7]  I believe, however, that Chaucer's direct in-
debtedness to Guido in this detail cannot be proved, for the
following reasons :

1. Chaucer's " *Dyte*" may possibly be a perfectly normal
development from Benoit's " *Dithis*" or " *Ditis*." [8]

2. " *Dite*" (*Dyte*) may have been a current vernacular form for
" *Dictys*" in Western Europe.[9]

3. There is no reason why Chaucer may not have misinterpreted
Benoit's " greçoise *dite*" as Guido did.

I hold, then, that Chaucer's " *Dyte*" may be due either to Benoit
or to Guido.[10]

In the foregoing examination of the textual relations of *Troilus
and Criseyde* to the *Historia Troiana* we have found only a few
trifling details which point with any certainty to Chaucer's in-
debtedness to Guido, whereas we have already reviewed a con-

[1] *R. de T.*, 71–74, 89–92.
[2] Cf. *R. de T.* (Constans), p. 6 ; Frommann, *Germania*, II, 63 ; Hamilton,
p. 69, note 4.    [3] *Historia*, sig. a 1 recto, col. 2.
[4] Guido's mistake was first noticed by Hertzberg, p. 190.  At the end of
his work (sig. o 7 recto, col. 1) Guido again mentions "ditem grecum."
H. Morf (*Romania*, XXI, 21, note 1) notes a form "Dites" in a MS. of the
*Historia*, in a passage which is probably not Guido's own.  Cf. Hamilton,
p. 70, note 1.
[5] *R. de T.* (Joly), 24299, 24322, 26040.
[6] *Id.*, 637, 24301, 26202, 30095.
[7] I am not certain whether Dr. Hamilton (pp. 69–70) attributes Chaucer's
form to Guido's influence or to Benoit's.
[8] See Hertzberg, Ebert's *Jahrbuch,* VIII, 159.
[9] As yet I have been able to collect no data on this point ; but see Hertz-
berg, *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft,* VI, 189.
[10] Perhaps the verbal resemblance between Chaucer's "wryte" and Benoit's
" escrite " may suggest that Chaucer was using the *Roman de Troie.*

siderable number of English passages that clearly show the influence of the *Roman de Troie*. To these latter English passages we may now add some others, the direct relation of which to the French poem can hardly be questioned.

For Chaucer's account of Diomedes' amorous conversation with Criseyde as he escorts her out from Troy,[1] Benoit provides an extended parallel,[2] which Guido renders in a mere summary of a few lines.[3] Benoit's direct influence upon Chaucer at this point may be enforced by resemblances in the following passages. In *Troilus* we read,

> " Of which the sone of Tydeus took hede,
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .    .
> .    .    . and asked why she stood
> In swich disese, and gan hir eek biseche,
> That if that he encrese mighte or eche
> With any thing hir ese, that she sholde
> Comaunde it him, and seyde he doon it wolde.
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .    .
> ' Thus seyde I never er now to womman born ;
> For god myn herte as wisly glade so,
> I lovede never womman here-biforn
> As paramours, ne never shal no mo.
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .    .
> And wondreth not, myn owene lady bright,
> Though that I speke of love to you thus blyve ;
> For I have herd or this of many a wight,
> Hath loved thing he never saugh his lyve.
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .    .
> Ther been so worthy knightes in this place,
> And ye so fair, that everich of hem alle
> Wol peynen him to stonden in your grace.
> But mighte me so fair a grace falle,
> That ye me for your servaunt wolde calle,
> So lowly ne so trewely you serve
> Nil noon of hem, as I shal, til I sterve.' "[4]

For the English passages we find the following parallels in the *Roman de Troie :*

> " E li fiz Tydeüs l'en meine,
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .

---

[1] *T. and C.*, v, 92–1/5. On Chaucer's following of Benoit rather than of Boccaccio in the sequence of events at this point, see Hertzberg, p. 203 ; Ebert, *Jahrbuch f. rom. u. engl. Literatur*, IV, 90 ; Kissner, p. 24 ; Hamilton, p. 114, note 1.

[2] *R. de T.*, 13529–13616.      [3] *Historia*, sig. i 2 verso, col. 1.

[4] *T. and C.*, v, 88, 108–112, 155–158, 162–165, 169–175.

'Mais j'ai oï assez parler
Que gent qu'onc ne s'erent veü
Ne acointié ne coneü
S'amoënt mout, ç'avient adès.
Bele,' fait sei Diomedès,
'Onques d'amer ne m'entremis,
N'amie n'oi ne fui amis :

.   .   .   .   .

Preiee sereiz e requise
D'amer, ço sai, en mainte guise,
Ci sont tuit li preisié del mont
E li plus riche qui i sont,
E li plus bel e li meillor,
Qui vos requerront vostre amor,
Mais sacheiz, bele, bien vos di,
Se de mei faites vostre ami,
Vos n'i avreiz se honor non.
Preisiez deit estre e de grant non
Qui de vostre amor est saisiz :

.   .   .   .   .

Mainte pucele avrai veüe
E mainte dame coneüe :
Onc mais a rien ne fis preiere
De mei amer en tel maniere.
Vos en estes la premeraine,
Si sereiz vos la dereraine.
Ja Deu ne place, s'a vos fail,
Que mais por autre me travail :

.   .   .   .   .

Des granz sospirs e del grant plor
Dont vos vei mout chargiee e pleine,
Metrai mon cors en mout grant peine
Com vos en puisse esleecier
O acoler e o baisier ;
Si metrai tel confort en vos
Dont vostre cors sera joios.' "[1]

---

[1] *R. de T.*, 13529, 13552–13558, 13573–13583, 13591–13598, 13604–13610.
Cf. Macaulay, *Three more Parallel Texts*, p. (b) ; *Academy*, XLVII, 298 ;
Broatch, pp. 17, 27 ; Hamilton, pp. 113–114. For the English lines Chaucer
had, of course, some basis in *Filostrato* (with *R. de T.*, 13604–13605, 13573–
13583, compare *Filostrato*, vi, 14, 3–8 ; vi, 22, 24–25), but not enough basis to
preclude the influence of Benoit upon the English lines. According to
Hamilton (p. 113, note 3), Chaucer's lines (*T. and C.*, ʊ, 86–87),

> ". . . and un-to Diomede
> No word he spak, *ne noon of al his route*,"

in which he certainly uses Boccaccio's lines,—

> ". . . a Diomede
> Non parlò punto . . ." (*Filostrato*, v, 13, 2–3),—

Chaucer describes Diomedes as follows :

> "This Diomede, as bokes us declare,
> Was in his nedes prest and corageous ;
> With sterne voys and *mighty limes square*,
> *Hardy*, testif, strong, and chevalrous
> Of dedes, lyk his fader Tideus.
> And som men seyn, he was of tunge large ;
> And heir he was of Calidoine and Arge," [1]

a description which is clearly based upon Boccaccio's lines,

> " Egli era grande e bel della persona,
> Giovane fresco e piacevole assai,
> E forte e fier siccome si ragiona,
> E parlante quant'altro Greco mai,
> E ad amor la natura aveva prona " ; [2]

> " Di Calidonia e d'Argo saria suto
> Re . . ." [3]

The details in which the English lines depart from the Italian seem to indicate the influence of Benoit's description,—

> " Forz refu mout Diomedès,
> *Gros e quarrez* [4] e granz adès ;
> La chiere aveit mout felenesse :
> Cist fist mainte fausse pramesse.
> Mout fu *hardiz*, mout fu noisos . . .," [5] —

rather than of anything in Guido's,—

" Diomedes fuit multa proceritate distensus, amplo pectore, robustis scapulis, aspectu ferox, in promissis fallax, in armis strennuus, victoriae cupidus, timendus a multis, cum multum esset virtuosus ; servientium sibi nimis impatiens, cum molestus servientibus nimis esset ; libidinosus quidem muiuum et qui per multas traxit angustias ob fervorem amoris." [6]

---

contain a phrase,—" ne noon of al his route,"—which "may be a reminiscence of the list of distinguished Greeks who accompanied Diomedes, according to the narrative in the *R. de T.* (13517–13522), for which Guido (sig. i 2 verso, col. 1) has merely, ' Sed Graecis advenientibus ad recipiendum eandem.' " But the succeeding lines in the *Historia* make us uncertain, I think, as to whether Chaucer made his slight addition at the suggestion of Benoit or of Guido, for the *Historia* reads (sig. i 2 verso, col. 1), " Et Graeci eam in sua recipiunt comitatu [cf. Chaucer's 'route '], inter quos dum esset Diomedes. . . ."

[1] *T. and C.*, v, 799–805.  [2] *Filostrato*, vi, 33, 1–5.
[3] *Id.*, vi, 24, 3–4.  [4] See above, p. 107, note.
[5] *R. de T.*, 5211–5215.  Cf. Macaulay, *Three More Parallel Texts*, Introd., p. (a) ; *Academy*, XLVII, 298 ; Broatch, pp. 17, 27 ; Hamilton, pp. 115–116.
[6] *Historia*, sig. e 2 recto, col. 1.  If he had consulted Benoit at this point, Skeat (p. lviii) would probably have acknowledged Chaucer's indebtedness to the French poet.

The lines,

> " And after this the story telleth us,
> That she him yaf the faire baye stede,
> The which he [1] ones wan of Troilus," [2]

evidently show the influence of Benoit's account of Briseida's return to Diomedes [3] of the horse that he had previously won from Troilus and had presented to her,[4]—

> " Un jor iert alé préier
> Qu'ele remirot le destrier
> Qui Troylus avoit esté.
>
> .    .    .    .    .
> ' Sire,' fet ele, ' lo cheval
> Vos presterai . . .' " [5]

Neither Boccaccio nor Guido mentions any such occurrence.

The lines,

> " And eek a broche (and that was litel nede)
> That Troilus was, she yaf this Diomede," [6]

are probably directly due to Boccaccio's account of Troilo's noticing the "fermaglio" on the "ornato vestimento" that Deifebo seizes from Diomede and brings to Troy,[7]—

> ".  .  . avvenne
> Che esso vide nel petto *un fermaglio*
> D' oro, lì posto forse per fibbiaglio ;
>
> Il quale esso conobbe incontanente,
> Siccome quei che l' aveva donato
> A Griseida . . ." [8]

The two lines that follow, however,—

> " And eek, the bet from sorwe him to releve,
> She made him were a *pencel of hir sleve*," [9]—

are clearly based upon Benoit's account of Briseida's giving a favour to Diomedes,—

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[1] On the reading "he," see Skeat, p. 499, and Hamilton, p. 119, note 3.
[2] *T. and C.*, v, 1037–1039.
[3] *R. de T.* (Joly), 15009–15019, 15046–7.
[4] *Id.*, 14238–14276.
[5] *Id.*, 15009–15011, 15046–7.   Cf. Skeat, pp. lxii, lxxx ; Broatch, p. 25 ; Hamilton, pp. 119–120.
[6] *T. and C.*, v, 1040–1041.
[7] *Filostrato*, viii, 8–10.
[8] *Id.*, viii, 9, 6—10, 3.
[9] *T. and C.*, v, 1042–3.

> " La destre *manche de son braz*
> Bone et fresche de ciclaton
> Li done en leu de gonfanon." [1]

In the English poem, after she has given her heart to Diomedes, Criseyde utters a soliloquy [2] which follows rather closely Briseida's soliloquy in the *Roman de Troie*,[3] and for which Guido [4] and Boccaccio have no parallel. The nature and extent of Chaucer's borrowings at this point will appear from the following comparison:

|  | |
|---|---|
| *Troilus* | *Roman de Troie* |

**1**

| | |
|---|---|
| Allas, of me, un-to the worldes ende, Shal neither been y-writen nor y-songe No good word, for thise bokes wol me shende.[5] | De moi n'iert ja fet bon escrit, Ne chantée bone chançons.[6] |

**2**

| | |
|---|---|
| For I have falsed oon, the gentileste That ever was, and oon the worthieste! [7] | Que gie trichai vers mon ami Qui onc nul jor nel deservi.[8] |

**3**

| | |
|---|---|
| O, rolled shal I been on many a tonge ! Through-out the world my belle shal be ronge ; And wommen most wol hate me of alle. Allas, that swich a cas me sholde falle ! They wol seyn, in as muche as in me is, I have hem doon dishonour, weyla-wey ! [9] | Desore auront prou que retraire De moi cil qui ne m'aiment gaire. Harront mei mès, et dreit auront Les dames qui à Troie sont : Honte i a fait as dameiseles Trop lede, et as riches puceles. Ma tricherie et mis meffait Lor seront mès lonc tens retrait.[10] |

**4**

| | |
|---|---|
| What helpeth that to do my blame awey ? But sin I see there is no bettre way, And that to late is now for me to rewe, To Diomede algate I wol be trewe.[11] | Et que me valt si m'en repent ? En ce n'a mès recovrement. Serai donc à cestui leiax Qui molt est prouz et bons vassax.[12] |

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[1] *R. de T.* (Joly), 15102–15104.   Neither Boccaccio nor Guido mentions this detail.   See Hertzberg, p. 203 ; Skeat, pp. lxii, lxxx ; Macaulay, *Three More Parallel Texts*, p. (b) ; *Academy*, XLVII, 298 ; Hamilton, pp. 121–2.

[2] *T. and C.*, v, 1054–1085.

[3] *R. de T.* (Joly), 20228–20330.   Cf. Hertzberg, pp. 203–4 ; Skeat, p. lxii, but see p. 500 ; Broatch, pp. 18, 19, 24 ; Macaulay, *Three More Parallel Texts*, p. (b) ; *Academy*, XLVII, 298 ; Hamilton, pp. 85, 124–125.

[4] See *Historia*, sig. l 1 recto, col. 1.

[5] *T. and C.*, v, 1058–1060.

[7] *T. and C.*, v, 1056–1057.

[9] *T. and C.*, v, 1061–1066.

[11] *T. and C.*, v, 1068–1071.

[6] *R. de T.* (Joly), 20228–20229.

[8] *R. de T.* (Joly), 20233–20234.

[10] *R. de T.* (Joly), 20245–20252.

[12] *R. de T.* (Joly), 20265–20268.

5

But Troilus, sin I no better may,          Dex donge bien à Troylus ![2]
And sin that thus departen ye and I,
Yet preye I god, so yeve yow right
    good day.[1]

6

. . . she was allone and hadde nede     Mès ci estoie sanz conseil,
Of freendes help . . .[3]               Et sanz amis et sanz feeil.[4]

In describing the sorrow caused by the death of Hector,—

> " For whom, as olde bokes tellen us,
>     Was maad swich wo, that tonge it may not telle ;
>     And namely, the sorwe of Troilus,
>     That next him was of worthinesse welle,"[5]—

Chaucer may be supplementing Boccaccio's more general statement,—

> " L' alto dolor, da non poter mai dire,
>     Che 'l padre, ed egli e' fratei per la morte
>     Ebber d' Ettor . . .,"[6]—

with a detail from Benoit's lines,

> " Molt le regrete Troylus,
>     Car riens soz ciel n'amot il plus."[7]

In Troilus' threat regarding Diomedes,—

> " And trewely, if I have might and space,
>     Yet shal I make, I hope, *his sydes blede*,"[8]—

Chaucer has added to Boccaccio's account,—

> ". . . ma per Venere dea
>     Ti giuro, tosto ten farò dolente
>     Colla mia spada alla prima mislea,
>     Se egli avviene ch' io 'l possa trovare,"[9]—

a detail which may be due to Benoit's lines,

> " Ala ferir Diomedes
>     D'une lance grosse et poignal
>     Si que l'enseigne de cendal
>     Li remest *parmi les costez*."[10]

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[1] *T. and C.*, v, 1072–1074.          [2] *R. de T.* (Joly), 20308.
[3] *T. and C.*, v, 1026–1027.          [4] *R. de T.* (Joly), 20277–20278.
[5] *T. and C.*, v, 1562–1565.          [6] *Filostrato*, viii, 1, 3–5.
[7] *R. de T.* (Joly), 16351–16352.  Cf. Hamilton, pp. 127–128.  Guido writes
merely, " Sic et dolentes fratres eiusdem doloris casu universaliter torque-
bantur " (*Historia*, sig. i 6 recto, col. 2).
[8] *T. and C.*, v, 1704–5.            [9] *Filostrato*, viii, 16, 4–7.
[10] *R. de T.* (Joly), 20066–20069.  Cf. Hamilton, p. 123.

Chaucer describes vividly Troilus's triumphal return to Troy from one of his fights,[1] as the following passages may illustrate :

> " Thascry aroos at skarmish al with-oute,
> And men cryde in the strete, ' see, Troilus
> Hath right now put to flight the Grekes route ! '
> With that gan al hir meynee for to shoute,
> ' A ! go we see, caste up the yates wyde ;
> For thurgh this strete he moot to palays ryde ;
>
> For other wey is fro the *yate noon
> Of Dardanus*, ther open is the cheyne.'
>     .     .     .     .     .     .     .
> So lyk a man of armes and a knight
> He was to seen, fulfild of heigh prowesse ;
>     .     .     .     .     .     .     .
> His helm to-hewen was in twenty places,
> That by a tissew heng, his bak bihinde,
> His sheld to-dasshed was with swerdes and maces,
> In which men mighte many an arwe finde
> That thirled hadde horn and nerf and rinde ;
> And ay the peple cryde, ' here cometh our joye,
> And, next his brother, holdere up of Troye ! ' "[2]

The " yate of Dardanus " is Dardanides, one of the six gates of Troy,[3] which, according to both Benoit and Guido, Hector orders to be opened to allow the Trojan army to issue forth for the second battle with the Greeks.[4]  Benoit alone, however, describes in detail Hector's triumphal return after this battle,[5]—a description that may have served as a model for the Chaucerian passage under consideration,—

> " Hector detriés entre en la vile,
> Encontre vindrent tex XX.M.
> N'i a celui ne plort de joie,
> Quant le voient entrer en Troie.
> Ne remest dame ne pucele,
> Ne borgeise, ne dameisele,
> Qui nel venissent esgarder.
> M. en i véist len plorer ;
> En halt s'escrient li plosor :

[1]  *T. and C.*, ii, 611-644.

[2]  *T. and C.*, ii, 611-618, 631-2, 638-644.

[3]  Cf. *R. de T.* (Joly), 3133-4 ; (Constans), 3147-8 ; *Historia*, sig. c 1 verso, col. 2.

[4]  See *R. de T.* (Joly), 7643-7646 ; (Constans), 7671-7674 ; *Historia*, sig. g 3 recto, col. 2.  Cf. Hertzberg, pp. 191-2 ; Skeat, pp. lvii, 470 ; Broatch, p. 16 ; Hamilton, pp. 100-101.

[5]  *R. de T.* (Joly), 10139-10182.  Guido omits this part of the French account (see *Historia*, sig. h 3 recto, cols. 1-2).

> ' Vez ci de toz vaillanz la flor,
> Li soverains, et li plus proz ;
> C'est cil qui nos vengera toz
> Des torz, des lez que fez nos ont.
> Cil sires qui fist tot lo mont
> Le nos deffende d'enconbrier,
> Si com nos en avons mestier.'
> Unques iço ne li failli
> Jusqu'al palès qu'il descendi." [1]

The likelihood of Chaucer's having used this scene is, perhaps, increased by the circumstance that in connection with it Troilus is mentioned in terms resembling certain of the English lines quoted above,—

> " Les dames ont assez enquis
> Qui en devoit avoir lo pris,
> Enprès Hector qui lo donreient ;
> Mès bien certainement saveient
> Que Troylus l'ot trop bien fait." [2]

Chaucer may have been influenced also by Benoit's less vivid account of Troilus's triumphal return from a later fight,[3]—an account for which Guido offers no parallel,[4]—

> " Molt s'esjoïst li reis Prianz
> Del damage qui est si granz
> Le jor desus ses enemis.
> Senblant li est bien et avis
> Qu'il sont tuit livré à torment,
> Se Troylus vit longuement.
> Molt le cherit et molt l'enore ;
> Toz li poples comuns l'adore,
> Sacrefices et oreison
> Font, que de mort et de prison
> Le garissent li soverain,
> Qui tot lo mont ont en lor main.
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .
>
> Le desarmerent icel seir,
> Le cors blecié et pers et neir.
> En deus C. leus ont fet lor merc
> Les dures mailles del hauberc,
> Sanc en ont trait en plosors leus :
> A lui pareist quels est lor geus.

[1] *R. de T.* (Joly), 10139–10156.    Cf. *R. de T.* (Constans), 10201–10218.
[2] *R. de T.* (Joly), 10221–10225.    Cf. *R. de T.* (Constans), 10283–10287 ;
*T. and C.*, ii, 643–4.
[3] *R. de T.* (Joly), 20591–20643.
[4] Cf. *Historia*, sig. l l verso, col. 1.

> De darz trenchanz et acerez
> Est sis cors toz despointurez." [1]

From the evidence now before us as to the direct relations of the text of *Troilus and Criseyde* to the *Roman de Troie* and to the *Historia Troiana* it seems clear that, although Chaucer based his poem on *Filostrato*, he made considerable supplementary use of Benoit's poem, and probably adapted a few details from Guido. Although the French poem and the Latin " history " were probably equally well known to Chaucer, the overwhelming preponderance of Benoit's influence is easily understood in view of the fact that the French account of the love of Troilus and Briseida is far richer in detail than is the dry prose abridgment of Guido.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE RELATIONS OF *TROILUS AND CRISEYDE* TO *FILOCOLO*.

ALTHOUGH Chaucer is fundamentally indebted to *Filostrato*, and although he made liberal additional use of the *Roman de Troie* and probably some use of the *Historia Troiana*, there are considerable parts of *Troilus and Criseyde* which are in no wise accounted for in these three works.[2]  For example, these sources offer no suggestion for the complicated plan of a dinner at the house of Deiphobus by which Pandarus succeeds in introducing the lovers to each other,[3] nor have these sources any parallel for Chaucer's elaborate account of the manner in which the lovers met for their first night together,[4] nor do we find in *Filostrato* or in

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[1] *R. de T.* (Joly), 20591–20602, 20607–20614.

[2] I do not refer here to the smaller borrowings in *Troilus* from Dante, Petrarch, Boethius, and Ovid, and from the *Roman de la Rose* and *Teseide*, all of which borrowings have been more or less adequately pointed out (see Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. II, pp. 1, lxv). For additional information as to the use of Dante in *Troilus*, see J. S. P. Tatlock, *Chaucer and Dante*, in *Modern Philology*, III, 367–371). These we may call " ornamental " borrowings ; that is, in most of these cases the English author borrowed forms of expression rather than suggestions for incidents. From Miss Cipriani's article, *The Romance of the Rose and Chaucer* (*Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXII, 552–595), it appears that Chaucer's poem owes more to the *Romance of the Rose* than has hitherto been acknowledged. Miss Cipriani's article reached me only after my study was in proof.

[3] See *T. and C.*, ii, 1402—iii, 231.

[4] See *T. and C.*, iii, 512–1190.  The parallel in Benoit's account of the secret meeting of Jason and Medea will be discussed below, pp. 152 ff.

the sources of *Filostrato* any hint for many of the lively additions
that Chaucer makes to the rôle of Pandaro.[1]  Although such parts
of the English poem are in some cases particularly " Chaucerian "
in their liveliness and humour, and although Chaucer was, no
doubt, quite capable of inventing them, still in the case of a poem
in which so many foreign elements have already been discovered
we are justified in a further search for possible sources,—a search
in which we seem to be rewarded when we turn to Boccaccio's
*Filocolo*, the work which, as we have found, contributed so much
to the story of Troilo and Griseida while this story was receiving
its first eminent literary treatment in *Filostrato*.   That Chaucer
should have known and used another of Boccaccio's early works
is *a priori* not in the least surprising.   *Filocolo*, though an inferior
literary production, tells one of the most famous of mediæval
stories, and a manuscript containing Boccaccio's romance might
very naturally come to the notice of an assiduous reader who knew
and used *Filostrato* and *Teseide*.

In an attempt to estimate Chaucer's possible indebtedness to
*Filocolo*, we may consider first the passage in Book iii of *Troilus*[2]
recounting the occurrences immediately preceding the first night
together of the young lovers,—a passage in which Chaucer departs
widely from the account offered him in *Filostrato*.[3]   The account
in the Italian poem may be briefly sketched as follows :

Through Pandaro's agency, Griseida has appointed a night for
Troilo's first visit to her.  Troilo goes secretly but boldly in the
dark to an obscure part of Griseida's house, and on his arrival she
coughs,[4] as a sign to him that she is aware of his presence.   After
sending her household to bed, Griseida, with a taper in her hand,
goes to Troilo, praying his pardon for having kept him waiting.
Troilo refuses to see the discourtesy, and after many embraces
they ascend the steps into Griseida's chamber, where with little
delay they betake themselves to bed, and

" D'amor sentiron l'ultimo valore." [5]

This is manifestly no adequate basis for the related passage in
*Troilus and Criseyde*, the general action of which may be outlined
as follows :

[1] See, for example, *T. and C.*, i, 729–858.    [2] *T. and C.*, iii, 512–1190.
[3] *Filostrato*, iii, 24–32.  Pages 140–148 of this study represent my short
article, *Chaucer's Use of Boccaccio's " Filocolo,"* published in *Modern Philology*,
Vol. IV, No. 1 (July, 1906), pp. 169–177.
[4] On this detail, see above, p. 53.        [5] *Filostrato*, iii, 32, 8.

With the purpose of bringing Troilus and Criseyde together at his house, Pandarus chooses a night that promises to be dark and rainy,[1] and invites Criseyde to supper. When she has been assured that Troilus is in no way connected with the invitation, and that she shall be secure from the gossip of "goosish peple," she comes at evening to Pandarus' house, accompanied by a few of her women. While Pandarus and Criseyde sup, sing, make music, and tell tales, Troilus looks on through a little window from an adjoining chamber. On account of the increased rain during the evening, Pandarus has no difficulty at bedtime in persuading Criseyde to spend the night at his house. Pandarus conducts his niece to her bed in an inner chamber, and provides for her attendants in a passage outside her door; and, after making sure that all are given up to sleep, he goes to Troilus, scolds courage into him, and leads him through a trap-door into Criseyde's room, concealing him, we may assume, in a dark corner or behind a curtain. When Criseyde awakes in fright, Pandarus checks her attempted outcry, and comforts her by the assurance that he alone is invading her chamber. Gradually and skilfully he reveals to her that Troilus has entered the house by a secret way, and is at the point of madness from jealousy of Orestes, who, according to report, has supplanted him in Criseyde's heart. Criseyde protests that she can never be untrue to Troilus, and offers to Pandarus a ring with which to comfort her lover. Pandarus scoffs at the idea of such comforting,[2] and at last persuades Criseyde to remain in bed while Troilus comes to her. The young lover is ready at hand, and while Pandarus sits near by and pretends to read "an old romaunce," Criseyde upbraids Troilus so severely for his unfounded jealousy and shows such poignant grief that Troilus falls in a faint. Pandarus springs impatiently to Troilus, throws him into the bed, and with Criseyde's aid brings him back to consciousness. After taking from Troilus such oaths as she wishes, Criseyde makes no objection to his remaining in bed with her, and Pandarus withdraws, leaving them together for the night. During their night together, in intervals of dallying, they exchange rings, and Criseyde gives Troilus a brooch. At the arrival of "cruel day," the lovers reluctantly separate, and Troilus sorrowfully hastens to the palace.

[1] This detail may be due to *Filostrato*, iii, 24, 1.

[2] See *T. and C.*, iii, 891–892,—

> ". . . that ring moste han *a stoon*
> *That mighte dede men alyve maken.*"

Cf. *T. and C.*, iii, 1368–1369,—

> "And pleyinge entrechaungeden hir ringes,
> *Of which I can nought tellen no scripture.*"

Is Chaucer alluding to such magic rings as we find in *Filocolo* (I, 110, 111, 147, 148, 152, 170, 263, 352, 353; II, 199), in the *Roman de Troie* (1677–1702), and in the *Historia Troiana* (sig. b 1 verso, cols. 1–2)?

Before estimating Chaucer's originality in thus changing what lay before him in *Filostrato*,[1] we should compare Chaucer's account with a passage in Boccaccio's *Filocolo*,[2] which may be outlined as follows :

The enamoured Florio, under his new name, Filocolo, has followed Biancofiore to Alexandria.   Having won the good-will of the guardian of the tower in which Biancofiore with her maid, Glorizia, is confined, Florio arranges to be conveyed into the tower by concealing himself in a basket of flowers that the Ammiraglio is to send to Biancofiore on an approaching gala-day.   On the appointed day Glorizia succeeds in conveying Florio into the tower without his being discovered, and when she has deposited him in one of Biancofiore's rooms and has locked the door, the ardent young lover demands his *innamorata*.   Glorizia explains to him that in his immediate appearance to his lady there is involved the twofold danger of scandal and of disaster to Biancofiore from sudden joy.   Therefore Glorizia arranges to conceal Florio in an adjoining chamber, from which he can observe Biancofiore and her attendants in their merrymaking, and promises later to conduct him from the side chamber and conceal him behind the curtains of Biancofiore's bed, where he must wait until his lady has gone to sleep before revealing himself. Glorizia warns him that Biancofiore will be greatly frightened when she awakes, but that her fear will soon give way to joy, and Glorizia promises herself to be near at hand to prevent any miscarriage of the plan.   Glorizia arouses the melancholy Biancofiore to take part in the festivities of the day, and comforts her by recounting a dream in which she saw Florio appear in Biancofiore's chamber.   Biancofiore and her maids celebrate the day with flowers and music, while Florio looks on through a little hole from the adjoining chamber.   At night Glorizia arranges Biancofiore's bed and conceals Florio behind the curtains.   While Biancofiore prepares for bed, Glorizia arouses her feelings for Florio by suggesting now the possibility, and again the impossibility, of his coming. Glorizia goes so far as to suggest that some other lover might please Biancofiore in Florio's absence,—a suggestion that Biancofiore passionately repudiates, as she refers with sorrow to Florio's previous groundless jealousy of Fileno.   When Glorizia leaves her, Biancofiore lies down, and, after many sighs for Florio, gives herself up to sleep.   Florio advances and caresses her as she sleeps, and finally embraces her at the very moment when she dreams of being in his arms.   When she awakes in fright, she attempts to call Glorizia, but Florio prevents her, and at last convinces her that her lover is really before her.   When she inquires by what means

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[1] On Chaucer's innovation at this point, see Hertzberg, *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, VI, 207 ; Kissner, *Chaucer in seinen Beziehungen zur italienischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1867, pp. 32, 49.

[2] *Filocolo*, II, 165–183.

he has reached her, he attributes all to the gods, and urges that they delay their delight no longer. Taking her ring and calling Hymen, Juno, and Venus to witness, Florio is ready for the espousal. At Biancofiore's suggestion they make vows before an image of Cupid in her room, after which Florio places the ring upon her finger and the marriage ceremony is completed. After they have waked Glorizia to rejoice with them, the lovers retire and spend the night together.

In spite of the divergent external circumstances of the two accounts, one must admit, at least, that the passage in *Filocolo* offers the general situation of the related passage in *Troilus and Criseyde*. In both stories a third person is arranging for the meeting of two lovers secretly, at night, in the bedchamber of the *innamorata*, the latter being unaware that her lover is concealed near at hand. In one case the go-between resorts to this concealment in order to avert scandal and personal disaster to the lady, in the other, to avert scandal and to overcome the lady's scruples. The fact that in one case the *innamorata* frankly desires the meeting, while in the other she does not, happens not to affect the general procedure. Criseyde's scruples do, however, demand more delicate and persistent manipulation on the part of her uncle, and thus we account in a measure for the more subtle and prominent rôle of Pandarus in Chaucer's version.[1] The fact that Chaucer's go-between is a man and Boccaccio's a woman makes no perceptible change in the action, for Pandarus and Glorizia show their respective charges precisely the same intimate personal attention.[2]

Passing from the general situation to details, we may note several minor circumstances of Chaucer's account that have definite parallels in *Filocolo*.

1. In each case the *innamorata* is led to believe that her lover is far away. Pandarus is explicit on this point,—

"He swor hir, 'nay, for he was out of towne.'"[3]

[1] That Boccaccio's Glorizia was capable of undertaking the more difficult rôle of Pandarus is indicated by her own words: "Se altro forse avvenisse io vi sarò vicina, e lei caccerò col mio parlare d' ogni errore" (*Filocolo*, II, 169).

[2] Moreover, Chaucer did not deliberately choose to give to a man the rôle of go-between in this episode; he merely used the character already provided by his story of *Troilus and Criseyde*. On a lady's having a male attendant, see B. de Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, Tome I, Paris, 1820, p. 417.

[3] *T. and C.*, iii, 570.

Glorizia also is unequivocal,—

"Or ecco, disse Glorizia, tu nol puoi avere, egli non c' è, nè ci può venire." [1]

A little later Biancofiore says to Florio,

"Come può essere che tu qui sii ora ch' io ti credeva in Ispagna ? " [2]

2. According to both accounts the lover, concealed in an adjoining chamber, observes through a small orifice the merrymaking in which his lady takes part. In *Troilus* we read,

"And she to souper com, whan it was eve,

> With a certayn of hir owene men,
> And with hir faire nece Antigone,
> And othere of hir wommen nyne or ten ;
> But who was glad now, who, as trowe ye,
> But *Troilus, that stood and mighte it see*
> *Thurgh-out a litel windowe in a stewe,*
> *Ther he bishet*, sin midnight, was in mewe,
>
> *Unwist of every wight but of Pandare ?*
> But to the poynt ; now *whan she was y-come*
> *With alle joye*, and alle frendes fare,
> Hir eem anoon in armes hath hir nome,
> And after to the souper, alle and some,
> Whan tyme was, ful softe they hem sette ;
> God wot, ther was no deyntee for to fette.
>
> And after souper gonnen they to ryse,
> At ese wel, with *hertes fresshe and glade*,
> And wel was him that coude best devyse
> To lyken hir, or that hir laughen made.
> He song ; she pleyde ; he tolde tale of Wade." [3]

The similar situation in *Filocolo* is thus described :

"Io in una camera a questa contigua ti metterò, dalla quale tu potrai ciò che in questa camera si farà vedere : quivi dimorando tacitamente, io senza dire a Biancofiore alcuna cosa che tu qui sii, qua entro *colle sue compagne* la farò venire, dove tu la potrai quanto ti piacerà vedere. . . . Levossi adunque per li conforti di Glorizia *Biancofiore, e coll' altre cominciò a far festa*, secondo che usata era per addietro. Elle avevano già tutte le rose prese . . . e *quale sonando con usata mano dolci strumenti*, e altre presesi per mano danzando, e altre *facendo diversi atti di festa*, e gittando l' una all' altra rose insieme motteggiandosi, e *Biancofiore similmente non sapendo che da Filocolo veduta fosse*. . . . *Filocolo che per piccolo*

[1] *Filocolo*, II, 175.    [2] *Id.*, II, 179.
[3] *T. and C.*, iii, 595–614.

*pertugio vide nella bella camera entrar Biancofiore*, di pietà tale nel viso divenne, quale colui che morto a' fuochi è portato."[1]

3. In each case the go-between, while keeping the lover concealed, prepares the mind of the *innamorata* for his coming by vague suggestions of such a possibility. In *Troilus* we read,

> " Sone after this, to him she gan to rowne,
>   And asked him if Troilus were there ?
>   He swor hir, ' nay, for he was out of towne '
>   And seyde, ' nece, *I pose that he were*,
>   Yow thurfte never have the more fere.
>   For rather than men mighte him ther aspye,
>   Me were lever a thousand-fold to dye.' "[2]

Similar suggestions occur in *Filocolo* as follows :

" Certo, rispose Glorizia, e' mi parve vedere nella tua camera il tuo Florio esser venuto, non so per che via nè per che modo . . . Glorizia disse : Biancofiore, se iddio ciò che tu desideri ti conceda, vorresti che Florio fosse qui teco ora indiritto ? "[3]

4. The jealousy of the lover figures prominently in both stories. Says Criseyde,

> " ' Horaste ! allas ! and falsen Troilus ?
>   I knowe him not, god helpe me so,' quod she."[4]

Biancofiore is equally outspoken,—

" Egli non è nel mondo brevemente uomo, cui io desideri nè che mi piaccia, se non egli : e poich' io lui non vidi, e' non mi parve uomo vedere, non che alcuno me ne piacesse, avvegnachè egli a torto ebbe già opinione che io amassi Fileno.[5]

The *motif* of jealousy, merely referred to at this point in *Filocolo*,[6] assumes in the parallel part of *Troilus* great lyric and dramatic importance.[7]

5. In both accounts the lady takes oaths from her lover before finally admitting him to her bed.[8] In *Troilus* occur the lines,

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[1] *Filocolo*, II, 168, 172.   [2] *T. and C.*, iii, 568–574. Cf. iii, 771–784.
[3] *Filocolo*, II, 171, 174.   [4] *T. and C.*, iii, 806–807.
[5] *Filocolo*, II, 175. For the incident referred to by Biancofiore, see *Filocolo*, I, 247–279.
[6] Florio's jealousy of Fileno, to which Biancofiore refers here, is the basis of a prominent episode in an earlier part of *Filocolo*, where the nature and effects of "Gelosia" are elaborately discussed and exemplified. See *Filocolo*, I, 247–281. See above, pp. 99 ff.
[7] See *T. and C.*, iii, 796–840, 987–1054. Chaucer's emphasis upon the *motif* of jealousy here may be a reflection of the elaborate episode of jealousy in the earlier part of *Filocolo*. See below, pp. 157 ff.
[8] On this custom, see V. Crescini, *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore*, Vol. I, Bologna, 1889, p. 430, note 1. B. de Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, I, 248, note 1.

> "Sone after this, though it no nede were,
> *Whan she swich othes as hir list devyse*
> *Hadde of him take*, hir thoughte tho no fere,
> Ne cause eek non, to bidde him thennes ryse," [1]

which have a parallel in the following from *Filocolo :*

"Col tuo medesimo anello ti sposerò, alla qual cosa Imeneo, e la santa Giunone e Venere nostra dea siano presenti. Disse allora Biancofiore : mai di ciò che ora mi parli dubitai . . . e davanti alla santa figura del nostro iddio questo facciamo." [2]

6. In both stories the lovers make use of rings : [3]

> "And pleyinge entrechaungeden hir ringes,
> Of which I can nought tellen no scripture " ; [4]

"E mentre in questa festa dimorano, Biancofiore dimanda che sia del suo anello, il quale Florio nel suo dito gli le mostra . . . col tuo medesimo anello ti sposerò . . . perchè Biancofiore . . . disteso il dito ricevette il matrimoniale anello." [5]

7. Although there is in Chaucer's poem no formal ceremony of marriage like that in Filocolo before the image of Cupid,[6] the English poem does show a parallel in the interchanging of rings just mentioned, in the hymn of Troilus to Love [7] and to "Citherea the swete," and in Criseyde's acceptance of his vows :

> "Than seyde he thus, ' O, Love, O, Charitee,
> Thy moder eek, Citherea the swete,
> After thy-self next heried be she,
> Venus mene I, the wel-willy planete ;
> And next that, Imenëus, I thee grete ;
> For never man was to yow goddes holde
> As I, which ye han brought fro cares colde.
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .
>
> And for thou me, that coude leest deserve
> Of hem that nombred been un-to thy grace,
> Hast holpen, ther I lykly was to sterve,
> And me bistowed in so heygh a place
> That thilke boundes may no blisse pace,
> I can no more, but laude and reverence
> Be to thy bounte and thyn excellence ! ' [8]

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[1] *T. and C.*, iii, 1142–1145.          [2] *Filocolo*, II, 181.
[3] On Chaucer's use of this detail, see Hamilton, p. 121, note 1. On the custom, see *Englische Studien*, XXXVI, 264,—a reference for which I an indebted to Dr. Hamilton.
[4] *T. and C.*, iii, 1368-9.          [5] *Filocolo*, II, 180–182.
[6] *Id.*, II, 181-2.          [7] On this hymn, see Kissner, p. 32.
[8] To *T. and C.*, iii, 1254-1274, there is a notable parallel in *Filocolo*, II, 278-9, where Florio thanks Jupiter, Juno, Hymen, Venus, and Mars for "I

And therwith-al Criseyde anoon he kiste,
Of which, certeyn, she felte no disese.
And thus seyde he, ' now wolde god I wiste,
Myn herte swete, how I yow mighte plese !

. . . . . . . .

And for the love of god, my lady dere,
Sin god hath wrought me for I shal yow serve,
As thus I mene, that ye wol be my stere,
To do me live, if that yow liste, or sterve,

. . . . . . . .

For certes, fresshe wommanliche wyf,
This dar I seye, that trouthe and diligence,
That shal ye finden in me al my lyf,
Ne I wol not, certeyn, breken your defence ;
And if I do, present or in absence,
For love of god, lat slee me with the dede,
If that it lyke un-to your womanhede.'

' Y-wis,' quod she, ' myn owne hertes list,
My ground of ese, and al myn herte dere,
Graunt mercy, for on that is al my trist ;
But late us falle awey fro this matere ;
For it suffyseth, this that seyd is here.
And at o word, with-outen repentaunce,
Wel-come, my knight, my pees, my suffisaunce ! ' " [1]

This passage may, perhaps, be regarded as Chaucer's substitute for
the more formal ceremony in *Filocolo* :

" Davanti alla bella immagine di Cupido se n'andarono . . .
e Florio primamente cominciò così a dire : o santo Iddio, signore
delle nostre menti, a cui noi della nostra puerizia abbiamo con intera
fede servito, riguarda con pietoso occhio alla presente opera.
Io . . . cerco quello che tu ne' cuori de' tuoi subietti fai
desiderare, e a questa giovane con indissolubile matrimonio cerco
di congiungermi ; . . . Tu sii nostro Imeneo. Tu in luogo della
santa Giunone guarda le nostre faccelline, e sii testimonio del
nostro maritaggio . . . perchè Biancofiore, che simile orazione
avea fatta, disteso il dito ricevette il matrimoniale anello ; e levatasi
suso come sposa, vergognosamente dinanzi alla santa immagine
baciò Florio, ed egli lei." [2]

From the evidence before us, without pursuing details further, [3]

lunga sollecitudine abbandonata, perciocchè gli occhi miei veggono ciò che
peraddietro lungamente desiderarono."
 [1] *T. and C.*, iii, 1254–1260, 1268–1278, 1289–1292, 1296–1309.
 [2] *Filocolo*, II, 181–2.
 [3] The parallel between *T.* and *C.*, iii, 1247–1253, and *Filocolo*, II, 179,
ll. 1–3, needs no emphasis. One or two other details may be worth noting as
indicating Chaucer's possible use of *Filocolo* at this point. In describing the

we are justified, I think, in inferring a literary connection between this episode in *Filocolo* and the similar episode in *Troilus and Criseyde*.

However, before we can accept the conclusion to which we are immediately led by the foregoing comparison, it is necessary to inquire concerning other possible sources for the Chaucerian episode. Since it has been repeatedly pointed out that the scene in *Filocolo* which we have been examining recurs in some form in three later works of Boccaccio,[1] we must inquire as to the possibility of Chaucer's having adapted his episode from one of these later accounts rather than from that in *Filocolo*. Let us first examine the account in *Ameto*.[2]

After the nymphs, Mopsa, Emilia, Adiona, Acrimonia, and Agapes have told their own love stories, Fiammetta speaks in her

---

joy of the lovers when they are at last settled in each other's arms Chaucer writes,

> " And as aboute a tree, with many a twiste,
> Bitrent and wryth the sote wode-binde,
> Gan eche of hem in armes other winde "
> 
> (*T. and C.*, iii, 1230–1232).

In a part of *Filocolo* that Chaucer seems likely to have known (see below, pp. 157 ff.) Florio writes to Biancofiore,

". . . e siccome l' abbracciante ellera avviticchia il robusto olmo, così le tue braccia il mio collo avvinsero, e le mie il tuo simigliantemente " (*Filocolo*, I, 262). Cf. Dante, *Inferno*, xxv, 58–60; *Lai du Chievrefeuille*, ll. 68–76 (*Die Lais der Marie de France*, edited by K. Warnke, Halle, 1900, pp. 183–4); Petrarch, Sonnet cclxxvii, 8; Boccaccio, *Ameto* (*Opere Minori*, Milano, Sonzogno, 1887), p. 193; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, iv, 365.

In the same episode, Chaucer's lines in connection with Troilo's embracing of Criseyde,—

> " What mighte or may the sely larke seye,
> Whan that the sparhauk hath it in his foot ? "
> 
> (*T. and C.*, iii, 1191–2),—

may or may not reflect the similar figure used in a somewhat different connection but in the same episode in *Filocolo*,—

". . . dove Filocolo timido, come la grù sotto il falcone, o la colomba sotto il rapace sparviere, dimorava " (*Filocolo*, II, 165–6). Cf. *Filocolo*, I, 217,—". . . avendo già rimessa la semplice colomba intra gli usati artigli de' dispietati nibbi." The source of these expressions in *Filocolo* may be *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore*, cxx, 5.

[1] See *Ameto* (*Opere Minori*, Milano, Sonzogno, 1887, pp. 224–229), *Fiammetta* (Sonzogno, pp. 38–39, 67), and *Amorosa Visione* (cap. xlix, *Opere Volgari*, Firenze, Moutier, 1833, pp. 197–200). Cf. Crescini, *Contributo*, etc., pp. 80–81, 131, 140, note 1, 152, 194, 197; C. Antona-Traversi, *Il Propugnatore*, Vol. XVI, Parte IIª (1883), pp. 63, 246; Crescini, in Vollmöller's *Kritischer Jahresbericht*, III Bd. (1891–1894), 4 Heft, p. 386; A. della Torre, *La Giovinezza di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Città di Castello, 1905, pp. 270–275.

[2] *Ameto*, pp. 224–229.

turn, telling us, in the course of her story, of her first night with
her lover Caleone, as follows :

In the absence of her husband, Fiammetta is sleeping alone,
when she dreams of being in the arms of one who has previously
wooed her illicitly.  Her dream is immediately realized, for she
awakes to find herself in the arms of a young man, who checks her
attempted outcry and with well-known voice tries to soothe her.
When she recognizes her lover, she persuades him to sit on one
side of the bed while she, sitting on the other side, converses with
him.   Caleone tells her the story of his past loves, of his dreams,
and of his being led hither through the magic of Hecate, and with
sword in hand he begs from her either love or death.   Fiammetta
yields her love, and the two become servants of Venus.

Although this episode as recounted in *Ameto* has a general resem-
blance to the parallel episodes in *Filocolo* and *Troilus*, it is clearly
impossible that it should have been Chaucer's original.  We need
only note the absence of a go-between to see how far we are from
the effective deceit of Glorizia and the masterful control of Pan-
darus.   To be sure, when Fiammetta asks Caleone how he has
gained access to her room he replies,

"Hecate, vinta dalle mie parole, e da varj sughi d' erbe e
virtuosi, a questo luogo venire mi diede apertissima via e sicura."  [1]

But Hecate with her magic does not appear in the scene as
Fiammetta describes it, and we cannot assume that her hidden
activities at all resembled those of Glorizia or of Pandarus.

The related part of *Fiammetta* [2] offers still less resemblance to
Chaucer's scene.   Early in the work the heroine makes mere vague
references to her first night with Panfilo,[3] an experience which
she later recounts as follows:

"Veramente una iniquità in me conosco, . . . e questa fu
di ricever te scellerato giovane [*i. e.*, Panfilo], e senza alcuna pietà,
nel letto mio, ed aver sostenuto che 'l tuo lato al mio s' accostasse :
avvenga che di questo, siccome essi medesimi videro, non io, ma tu
colpevole fosti ; il qual col tuo ardito ingegno, me presa nella tacita
notte secura dormendo, come colui che altre volte eri uso d'
ingannare, prima nelle braccia m' avesti e quasi la mia pudicizia
violata, che io fossi dal sonno interamente sviluppata. E che
doveva io fare, questo veggendo ? doveva io gridare, e col mio grido
a me infamia perpetua, ed a te, il quale io più che me medesima
amava, morte cercare ? Io opposi le forze mie, siccome Iddio sa,

[1] *Ameto*, p. 225.    [2] *Fiammetta*, pp. 38-39, 67.    [3] *Id.*, pp. 38-39.

quanto io potei ; le quali alle tue non potendo resistere, vinte, possedesti la tua rapina." [1]

Obviously this brief account cannot be the source of the Chaucerian episode under consideration.

The related passage in *Amorosa Visione*,—in which the author recounts his vision of having consummated his love of "la Donna," [2]—is too remote from the episode in hand to deserve more than mention here.

We may conclude, then, that of the Italian passages that we have considered, only the passage in *Filocolo* recounting the meeting of Florio and Biancofiore in the tower at Alexandria could have served as the basis of Chaucer's similar scene.

We may next inquire whether Chaucer may not have based his scene directly upon the sources of *Filocolo*,[3] without the mediation of Boccaccio. The answer to this inquiry is the fact that no other known version of the story of Floire and Blanchefleur contains a scene that resembles Boccaccio's,—a fact that Crescini states vigorously as follows :

"Si noti che l' autor nostro non fu indotto a rappresentare come fece l' incontro di Florio e Biancifiore dall' esempio d' altra redazione della leggenda de' fanciulli amanti. Nessuno de' racconti numerosi, ne' quali per tutt' Europa si svolse questa leggenda, poteva inspirare al Boccaccio la scena, ch' ei figurò, scena, che invece gli fu suggerita dalla fresca memoria di ciò che realmente eragli avvenuto con Maria." [4]

The traditional scene is fairly represented in French Version I, where we are told that after Claris has brought in the basket of flowers in which Florio is hidden, Blanceflor enters the room, and Claris offers to show her the most beautiful flower in the land. When Blanceflor remonstrates at such banter, and utters a vow of constancy to Florio, the ardent young lover can remain concealed no longer, and leaps up from the basket into Blanceflor's arms.[5]

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[1] *Fiammetta*, p. 67.   [2] *Amorosa Visione*, cap. xlix, pp. 197–200.

[3] On the sources of *Filocolo*, see Appendix B.

[4] Crescini, *Contributo*, etc., p. 82. Cf. Crescini, *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore*, I, 426 ; G. Volpi, *Il Trecento*, Milano, 1897–1898, p. 93.

[5] See *Floire et Blanceflor* (edited by E. Du Méril, Paris, 1856), Version I, ll. 2115–2160 ; Version II, ll. 2799–2818. Cf. *Floris und Blauncheflur* (E. Hausknecht, Berlin, 1885), ll. 895–928 ; *Flore und Blanscheflur*, by Konrad Fleck (E Sommer, Quedlinburg, und Leipzig, 1846), ll. 5590–6124 ; *Floris ende Blancefloer*, by Dideric van Assenede (H. E. Moltzer, Groningen, 1870), ll. 2292–3057 ; *Flores oc Blanzafloor* (G. E. Klemming, Stockholm, 1844), ll. 1348–1421 ; Φλώριος καὶ Πλατξιαφλώρα (W. Wagner, *Mediæval Texts*, pp. 1–56,—Philological Society, Extra Volume, 1869–1872, London,

Such an account is obviously no parallel to the scene in *Troilus and Criseyde.*

Since neither the sources of *Filocolo* nor any other of Boccaccio's works than *Filocolo* could have inspired Chaucer's scene, some one may suggest that the English poet had in mind some other of the many scenes of bedroom intrigue in the great body of mediæval romance and of folk-tales. Several remote parallels to the tower episode in *Filocolo* have been pointed out, but none of them contains those details of Boccaccio's account that recur in the English poem.[1]

1870), ll. 1642–1685 ; *La Lengenda della Reina Rosana e di Rosana sua Figliuola* (A. d'Ancona, Livorno, 1871), pp. 53–61 ; *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore* (V. Crescini, 2 vols., Bologna, 1889–1899), Stanzas 120–126. For the parallel scene in the Spanish *Flores y Biancaflor*, see E. Hausknecht, p. 67.

   [1] Crescini (Vollmöller's *Kritischer Jahresbericht*, III Bd., 1891–1894, 4 Heft, p. 386) refers to the following parallels :—(1) In the Old French *Macaire* (edited by A. Mussafia, Wien, 1864, ll. 210–260. Cf. L. Gautier, *Les Épopées Françaises*, Tome III, Paris, 1880, p. 705 ; P. Rajna, *Le Origini dell' Epopea Francese*, Firenze, 1884, p. 180) we have an account of the dwarf's following Machario's directions as to how he may lie with Queen Bianciflor while the Emperor is at matins. (2) In *Amis et Amiles* (edited by K. Hofmann, Erlangen, 1882, ll. 664–704) there is a bedroom scene in which Belyssant disposes herself in the bed of Count Amiles while he is asleep.  (3) In the story of *Lancelot du Lac* (see P. Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, Tome IV, Paris, 1875, pp. 32–33) we are told that Gawain stealthily gains access to the bed of the daughter of the King of Norgalles, where the King discovers the pair together by looking through a window.  (4) Similar scenes are to be found in Italian folk-poetry (see A. d'Ancona, *La Poesia Popolare Italiana*, Livorno, 1878, pp. 23–28).

   M. Landau (*Giovanni Boccaccio : sein Leben und seine Werke*, Stuttgart, 1877, p. 49) points out parallels to the tower episode of *Filocolo* :—(1) In *Wolfdieterich* (edited by A. Holtzmann, Heidelberg, 1865, Stanzas 88–95 ; (2) in the Swedish folk tale of Habor and Signild (see A. A. Afzelius, *Volks-sagen und Volkslieder aus Schwedens älterer und neuerer Zeit*, Leipzig, 1842, Theil I, pp. 153–163) ; (3) the story of Vallivan (see H. von der Hagen, *Die Schwanensage*, in *Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1846, p. 535) ; (4) the story of a princess kept in a tower, to which a knight gains access in a basket (see H. A. Keller, *Li Romans des Sept Sages*, Tübingen, 1836, pp. lxx–lxxiii) ; (5) the tale of " Die beiden Pflege-brüder " (see C. Oberleitner, *Schwedische Volkssagen und Märchen*, Wien, 1848, pp. 78 ff.) ; (6) the story of Achilles and Deidamia (see F. H. von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteur*, II Bd., Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1850, pp. 496 ff.; Cf. III Bd., p. cxxviii).

   A list of "bedroom intrigues" can be indefinitely increased by such references as the following :—*Claris et Laris* (edited by J. Alton, Tübingen, 1844), ll. 8343–8472) ; R. Renier, *Novelle inedite di Giovanni Sercambi*, Torino, 1889, pp. 116–119 ; *Carle of Carlile* (*Bishop Percy's Folio Manu-script*, edited by J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, Vol. III, London, 1868), ll. 331–360 ; a canzone of Antonio Pucci (*Rivista di Filologia Romanza*, II, 226) ; *Syre Gawene and the Carle of Carelyle* (edited by F. Madden, *Syr Gawayne*, London, 1839, p. 200), ll. 445–480 ; *Le Chevalier à L'Épée* (edited by E. C. Armstrong, Baltimore, 1900); ll. 471–682 ; *Yonec*, ll. 123–172; *Guigemar*, ll. 470–534 ; *Equitan*, ll. 115–188 ; the last three edited by K. Warnke, *Die Lais der Marie de France*, Halle, 1900.

No one, however, has pointed out the close similarity between this account in *Filocolo* and an episode in the story of Jason and Medea as recounted in the *Roman de Troie* of Benoit de Sainte-Maure [1] and in the *Historia Troiana* of Guido delle Colonne.[2] This episode in the French poem [3] may be outlined as follows :

Jason has speedily won the heart of Medea, and has only to reap the fruits of his new love, swearing to his lady " sor toz les deus " that he will honour and marry her.  Medea bids him come alone to her chamber after the King shall have gone to bed, to make his vows and to receive her love and her counsel.  Jason readily assents, but urges that she send a servant to guide him,—

> " Quar ne savreie ou jo alasse,
>   Ne a quel hore jo levasse." [4]

Having assented to this request, Medea impatiently awaits the coming of night, and then still more impatiently the retiring of the household.  As she nervously paces her chamber, she often stops to look through a little aperture to see the bed where Jason lies,—

> " Par la chambre vait sus e jus,
>   E sovent *reguarde al pertus*,
>   Tant que trestuit furent couchié.
>   Bien a veü e aguaitié
>   Le lit ou Jason se coucha." [5]

When all have retired, Medea calls a trusted old woman-servant, whom she bids to fetch Jason quietly,—

[1] *R. de T.*, 1445–1774.

[2] *Historia Troiana*, sig. a 7 recto, col. 2—sig. b 1 verso, col. 2.

[3] We have no occasion to consider in full the parallel account in the *Historia*.  Guido follows Benoit closely at this point, adding no significant details that occur either in *Filocolo* or in *Troilus*.  Guido's only conspicuous addition to Benoit,—his extended condemnation of Medea's credulity and of Jason's infidelity (*Historia*, sig. b 1 recto, cols. 1–2),—does not concern us here.  On the other hand, in his abridgment Guido omits certain of Benoit's details which appear in *Filocolo* and in *Troilus*.  For example, there is nothing in the *Historia* to represent the French lines,

> " Par la chambre vait sus e jus,
>   *E sovent reguarde al pertus*,
>   Tant que trestuit furent couchié.
>   Bien a veü e aguaitié
>   Le lit ou Jason se coucha " (*R. de T.*, 1531–1535).

As we shall see, the detail of the *pertus* is important.

[4] *R. de T.*, 1459–1460.

[5] *Id.*, 1531–1535.  For a similar use of the word, *pertus*, see "Tote la nuit les guardet par un *pertus* petit" (*Pélerinage de Charlemagne*, edited by E. Koschwitz, Leipzig, 1895, l. 441).

> " Une soë maistre apela :
> Tot son conseil li a gehi,
> Car el se fiot mout en li :
> ' Dreit a cel lit,' fait ele, ' iras
> Tot soavet, le petit pas ;
> Celui qu'i gist m'ameine o tei :
> De noise te guarde e d'esfrei.' " [1]

When Medea has retired to her magnificent bed, the servant
hastens to wake Jason and to lead him to Medea's chamber,—

> " La vieille, senz autre respit,
> Le la chambre s'en est eissue,
> Dreit au lit Jason est venue ;
> Tot belement e en secrei
> Le traist par mi la main a sei.
> E cil s'en leva mout isnel,
> Si s'afubla de son mantel.
> Tot soavet et a celé
> S'en sont dedenz la chambre entré.
> Clarté i ot, tres bien i veient,
> Car dui cierge grant i ardeient.
> La maistre a l'uis clos e serré,
> Puis l'a desci qu'al lit mené." [2]

Though she is aware of Jason's presence, Medea pretends to be
asleep, and when he approaches and raises the coverlet she starts
up in pretended amazement, and asks by what means he has
entered her room,—

> " Medea le senti venir,
> Si a fait semblant de dormir,
> E cil ne fu pas trop vilains :
> Le covertor lieve o ses mains.
> Cele tressaut, vers lui se torne ;
> Auques fu vergondose e morne :
> ' Vassaus,' fait el, ' qui vos conduit ?
> Mout par avez veillié anuit.
> Tel noise ai tote nuit oïe
> Qu'or m'ere a grant peine endormie.' " [3]

Jason replies that his only guide has been Medea's servant,—

> " ' Dame,' fait il, ' n'i quier guion
> Se vos e vostre maistre non :
> S'en vostre prison me sui mis,
> Il ne m'en deit pas estre pis.' " [4]

[1] *R. de T.,* 1536–1542.        [2] *Id.,* 1572–1584.
[3] *Id.,* 1585–1594.        [4] *Id.,* 1595–1598.

The servant now leaves the lovers together, and Jason promptly
swears eternal faithfulness to Medea and offers to do her
pleasure,—

> "La vieille ensemble les laissa,
> En autre chambre s'en entra.
> Jason a parlé toz premiers :
> 'Dame, li vostre chevaliers,
> Icil qui quites senz partie
> Sera toz les jorz de sa vie,
> Vos prie e requiert doucement
> Quel receveiz si ligement,
> Qu'a nul jor mais chose ne face
> Que vos griet ne que vos desplace.'" [1]

Not satisfied with this simple declaration, Medea urges her lover
to take an oath before an "image de Jupiter," a procedure to
which Jason readily consents,—

> "'. . . Beaus amis,
> Grant chose m'avez mout pramis:
> Se vos le voliëz tenir,
> Ne me porriëz plus ofrir.
> Seürté vueil que jo en aie :
> Puis atendrai vostre manaie.'
> 'Dame, a trestot vostre plaisir ;
> Senz fauseté e senz mentir,
> Vos en ferai tel seürtance
> Qu'a tort avreiz vers mei dotance.'
>   Une pelice vaire e grise
> Vest Medea sor sa chemise,
> Del lit s'en est a tant levee,
> Si a une image aportee
> De Jupiter le deu poissant :
>   'Jason,' fait el, ' venez avant.
> Vez ci l'image al deu dés cieus :
> Jo ne vueil mie faire a gieus
> De mei e de vos l'assemblee ;
> Par ço vueil estre aseüree.
> Sor l'image ta main metras,
> E sor l'image jureras
> A mei fei porter e tenir
> E mei a prendre senz guerpir ;
> Leial seignor, leial amant
> Me seies mais d'ore en avant.'
> Jason ensi li otreia." [2]

[1] R. de T., 1599–1608.          [2] Id., 1609–1635.

Medea now admits Jason to her bed for the night,—

> " Tote la nuit se jurent puis,
> Ensi com jo el Livre truis,
> Tot nu a nu e braz a braz." [1]

In the morning, before Jason departs, Medea counsels him concerning his approaching dangers, and gives him magic gifts,—" une figure Faite par art e par conjure," [2] " un oignement," [3] and " un anel," [4]—each of which is powerful in protecting the life of him who carries it. After many caresses, Jason takes his leave. [5]

The general likeness of this nocturnal meeting to that recounted in *Filocolo* needs no enforcing. We may sum up the details in which the two accounts agree as follows :

1. A lover is kept waiting outside his lady's bedroom.

2. There is a small hole through which one may see from one room to the other.

3. A woman-servant leads the lover to his " amie."

4. The lover makes advances upon the person of his sleeping lady.

5. When the lady awakes she is shocked by the intrusion into her room.

6. The lady rises from bed and exacts an oath from her lover before an image of a god.

7. The lovers spend the night together.[6]

Boccaccio's intimate acquaintance with Benoit's poem during the period when he was writing this part of *Filocolo* can hardly be doubted. If my exposition of the mutual chronological relations of *Filocolo* and *Filostrato* be sound,[7] it appears that Boccaccio wrote the *Filocolo* episode under consideration after he had written *Filostrato*, and hence after he had ransacked Benoit's poem.[8] Since we have found our author borrowing from Benoit's episode of Achilles and Polyxena materials for adding to the meagre story of Troilus and Briseida, we need not be surprised at the suggestion

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[1] *R. de T.*, 1643–1645.     [2] *Id.*, 1665–6.     [3] *Id.*, 1671.
[4] *Id.*, 1677.     [5] *Id.*, 1763–1766.
[6] I do not draw a parallel between the magic ring of the *Roman de Troie* (l. 1677) and the matrimonial ring of *Filocolo* (II, 181–2).
[7] See above, pp. 27 ff.
[8] On Boccaccio's familiarity with the *Roman de Troie* while he was writing *Filocolo*, see also above, p. 104. Even though my exposition of the chronology be rejected, the evidence for Boccaccio's use of Benoit's poem in *Filocolo* is, I think, quite able to stand of itself.

that Boccaccio drew from Benoit's episode of Jason and Medea a scene with which to enlarge his *Filocolo*. In view of the detailed resemblances between Benoit's episode and the account in *Filocolo* of the meeting of Florio and Biancofiore in the tower at Alexandria, in view of Boccaccio's departure at this point from the sources of *Filocolo*, and in view of his undoubted familiarity with Benoit's poem, I believe that Boccaccio's indebtedness to Benoit at this point can hardly be questioned.[1]

Since Chaucer as well as Boccaccio was intimately acquainted with the *Roman de Troie*, is it possible that the English scene is based directly upon Benoit's poem, without the mediation of Boccaccio ? We may readily admit that two authors may use a common source independently with surprisingly similar results ; but in the present case the special similarities between *Filocolo* and *Troilus* are so important that Chaucer's independence of Boccaccio can hardly be maintained. The definite points in which *Filocolo* and *Troilus* show common differences from Benoit are the following :

1. In each case the *innamorata* is deceived into thinking that her lover is out of town.

2. In each account the lover, concealed in an adjoining chamber, observes through a small orifice the merry-making in which his lady takes part.

3. In each case the go-between, while keeping the lover concealed, prepares the mind of the *innamorata* for his coming by vague suggestions of such a possibility.

4. The jealousy of the lover figures prominently in both stories.[2]

5. In the two cases rings are used with matrimonial significance.[3]

[1] If this conclusion is sound, a reconsideration of the autobiographical validity of the tower scene in *Filocolo* is made necessary,— a reconsideration, however, that is no integral part of the present study. On the autobiographical significance of this scene, see Crescini, *Contributo*, etc., pp. 82, 131, 152, 194, 197 ; *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore*, Vol. I, pp. 426–7 ; Vollmöller's *Kritischer Jahresbericht*, III Bd., 4 Heft, p. 386 ; A. della Torre, p. 270, note 2 ; Antona-Traversi, *Il Propugnatore*, Vol. XVI, Parte IIᵃ, pp. 63, 67, 240–245.

[2] See p. 145.

[3] Although Chaucer's scene is clearly based upon Boccaccio's, since the English author had undoubtedly read the account of Jason and Medea in the *Roman de Troie*, we need not be surprised if we find in *Troilus* some slight echoes from the French poem. There may or may not be significance in the resemblances that follow.

1. Pandarus says to Troilus (*T. and C.*, iii, 738),

      " Why, don this furred cloke up-on thy sherte."

From the evidence now before us, I conclude that upon Benoit's account of a secret meeting of Jason and Medea, Boccaccio based the tower scene in *Filocolo*,—a scene that Chaucer adapted to his own purposes in Book iii of *Troilus and Criseyde*.

In the Chaucerian episode that we have been studying occurs an element that deserves additional consideration. We have already observed that both in the tower scene in *Filocolo* and in the similar scene in *Troilus* the heroine complains of a previous fit of jealousy on her lover's part.[1] Chaucer's highly successful

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Jason, when he rises from bed, puts on an outer cloak (*R. de T.*,1578),—

> " Si s' afubla de son mantel,"—

and Medea when she rises, puts on a fur garment over her night-dress (*id.*, 1619–1620),—

> "Une pelice vaire e grise
> Vest Medea sor sa chemise."

Guido has no similar detail.
  2. Pandarus tends the door (*T. and C.*, iii, 748–9),—

> "Goth to the dore anon with-outen lette,
> Ther-as they laye, and softely it shette."

Likewise the old servant in Benoit's poem,—

> " La maistre a l'uis clos e serré" (*R. de T.*, 1583).

Guido has a similar detail (see *Historia*, sig. a 7 verso, col. 2).
  3. When Criseyde offers Pandarus a "blewe ring" (*T. and C.*, iii, 885) with which to comfort Troilus, Pandarus replies,

> " 'A ring?' quod he, ' ye, hasel-wodes shaken !
> Ye, nece myn, that ring moste han a stoon
> That mighte dede men alyve maken ;
> And swich a ring, trowe I that ye have noon'"
>                                (*T. and C.*, iii, 890–893).

Perhaps Chaucer had in mind the magic ring that Medea gives Jason (*R. de T.*, 1677), which has such power that

> " 'Soz ciel n'a home qui seit vis,
> Dès qu'il l'avra en son deit mis,
> Qui ja puis crienge enchantement
> Feu, arme, venin ne serpent :
>   .   .   .   .   .   .
> Se tu ne vueus estre veüz,
> La pierre met defors ta main'"
>                    (*R. de T.*, 1681–84, 1690–91).

Guido has a similar detail (see *Historia*, sig. b 1 verso, cols. 1–2).
  4. Says Pandarus to Criseyde (*T. and C.*, iii, 948),

> "But liggeth stille, and taketh him right here."

So the servant in Benoit's poem (*R. de T.*, 1543–4),

> " 'Dame,' fait el, ' premierement
> Vos couchiez, si sera plus gent.'"

Guido omits this detail. Whether or not these details are significant, I think they in no wise affect the main conclusions which we have reached above.
  [1] See above, p. 145.

dramatic and lyric development of this *motif*, which has no basis in *Filostrato*,[1] seems to rest upon the account of Florio's jealousy in the earlier part of *Filocolo*,[2]—an episode definitely referred to by Biancofiore in the tower scene.

This element of jealousy in *Troilus* may be briefly outlined as follows :

In order to excite Criseyde's passion for Troilus, Pandarus reports to her Troilus's sorrowful plight over a rumour as to her infidelity,—a rumour that Criseyde hastens to deny and to lament.[3] She proposes to soothe Troilus's feelings on the following day, but Pandarus will allow no such delay, and presents Troilus to her at once.   With firm but gentle words Criseyde censures Troilus for his jealousy, laments his pain, and ends with fervent protestations of faithfulness.[4]

The episode of jealousy in *Filocolo*[5] may once more[6] be briefly outlined as follows :

Convinced by seeing Biancofiore's veil in the possession of Fileno that the maiden is faithless, Florio gives way to violent jealousy.   At the end of a lengthy complaint, Florio is at the point of suicide, when he falls asleep and has a vision that should have reassured him.   On awaking, however, Florio writes a long letter to Biancofiore upbraiding her for her supposed infidelity, —a letter to which the maiden replies in full, denying the accusations, and ending with vows of fidelity.   Meanwhile the goddess Diana has gone to visit Gelosia, whose hideous dwelling is elaborately described.   At Diana's request, Gelosia flies to Florio and strikes him with a renewed fit of jealousy.   After the nature of jealousy has been prosaically expounded, we are told that Diana goes to the cave of Sleep, through whose agency Fileno is warned in a vision to flee from the death that Florio is preparing for him.

Although it would be absurd to expect Chaucer to introduce into *Troilus* any such dull and clumsy episode as this, there are good reasons for believing that he drew from this part of *Filocolo* suggestions for Troilus's jealousy of " Horaste."   Criseyde's tender arraignment of Troilus for his suspicion has a general parallel in Biancofiore's reply to Florio's accusation.   The English heroine begins with an appreciation of her lover's merits,—

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[1] The element of jealousy in *Troilus* that we are now considering is not to be confused with the jealousy between Troilus and Diomedes treated later in the poem (see *T. and C.*, v, 1212–1533, 1639–1722), which is in the main adapted from a part of *Filostrato* already discussed.   See above, pp. 94 ff.

[2] See *Filocolo*, I, 247–289.         [3] *T. and C.*, iii, 792–812, 837–840.

[4] *Id.*, iii, 988–1064.                    [5] *Filocolo*, I, 247–289.

[6] See above, pp. 99 ff.

> " And your goodnesse have I founde alwey yit,
> Of whiche, my dere herte and al my knight,
> I thonke it yow, as fer as I have wit,
> Al can I nought as muche as it were right." [1]

In her reply to the jealous Florio, Biancofiore utters similar praise
of her lover,—

" Similemente i lunghi affanni e i gran meriti, a' quali io mai
aggiugnere non potrei a remunerare il più picciolo. . . . Nè ancora
mi si occulta la tua virtù, nè la tua bellezza piena di graziosa
piacevolezza . . . per le quali cose saresti più degno amante dell'
alta Citerea che di me." [2]

In commenting on Troilus's jealousy Criseyde charitably suggests
that he is a victim of " fantasye " and " illusioun,"—

> " But certeyn is, som maner jalousye
> Is excusable more than som, y-wis.
> As whan cause is, and som swich *fantasye*
> With pietee so wel repressed is,
> That it unnethe dooth or seyth amis,
>
> . . . . . . . .
> That thanke I god, for whiche your passioun
> I wol not calle it but *illusioun*." [3]

" Fantasye " and " illusioun " are clearly involved in Florio's case,
where a vision and a visit from " Gelosia " contribute toward his
being deceived. Moreover, Biancofiore plainly hints that Florio
may be out of his wits,—

" Tu vai cercando di mostrarmi cagioni per le quali io debba
avere te per Fileno lasciato, e quelle tu medesimo l' annulli . . .
e se da te quel senno non s' è partito che aver suoli, dovresti
pensare che io non sono del senno uscita." [4]

Criseyde assures her lover that by her explanation their mutual
happiness will return,—

> " But, herte myn, what al this is to seyne
> Shall wel be told, so that ye noght yow greve,
> Though I to yow right on your-self compleyne.
> For ther-with mene I fynally the peyne,
> That halt your herte and myn in hevinesse,
> Fully to sleen, and every wrong redresse." [5]

[1] *T. and C.*, iii, 995–998.    [2] *Filocolo*, I, 270–271.
[3] *T. and C.*, iii, 1030–1034, 1040–1041.    [4] *Filocolo*, I, 271.
[5] *T. and C.*, iii, 1003–1008.

Biancofiore holds out the same hope,—

"Lascia ogni malinconia presa per questo se la mia vita t' è cara, e spera che ancora fermamente conoscerai ciò che io ora ti prometto, e la tua vita colla mia insieme caramente riguarda, sperando che a luogo e a tempo gl' iddii rimuteranno consiglio, forse concedendoci miglior vita che noi da noi non eleggeremmo." [1]

Criseyde's affecting words,

> "'Eek al my wo is this, that folk now usen
> To seyn right thus, "Ye, Jalousye is Love!"'" [2]

may reflect the exposition of jealousy in *Filocolo*,[3] in which occur such expressions as,

"O amore . . . chi potrebbe credere o pensare che la tua dolce radice producesse sì amaro frutto com' è gelosia? . . . Ella [*i. e.*, gelosia] con teco quasi d' un principio nata, di tutti i tuoi beni è guastatrice." [4]

Criseyde closes her plea beautifully with the following assurances of her fidelity:

> "'But, for my devoir and your hertes reste,
>     Wher-so yow list, by ordal or by ooth,
>     By sort, or in what wyse so yow leste,
>     For love of god, lat preve it for the beste!
>     And if that I be giltif, do me deye,
>     Allas! what mighte I more doon or seye?'
>
> With that a fewe brighte teres newe
>     Out of hir eyen fille, and thus she seyde,
> 'Now god, thou wost, in thought ne dede untrewe
>     To Troilus was never yet Criseyde.'" [5]

Biancofiore is equally outspoken in her assurances,—

"Volessero gl' iddii che possibile fosse te aver potuto vedere e udire le vere . . . che io niuna persona ami se non solamente te, ne chiamo testimonio gl' iddii . . . Biancofiore non fu mai se non tua, e tua sarà sempre. Adoprino i fati secondochè ell' ama, e senza fallo contento viverai." [6]

To these general resemblances we may perhaps add at least one slight verbal resemblance. In the line assigned to Criseyde,

> "'Allas! what *wikked spirit* tolde him thus?'" [7],

[1] *Filocolo*, I, 274.
[2] *T. and C.*, iii, 1023–1024.
[3] *Filocolo*, I, 280–281.
[4] *Id.*, I, 280–281.
[5] *T. and C.*, iii, 1045–1054.
[6] *Filocolo*, I, 270–271, 273, 274.
[7] *T. and C.*, iii, 808.

the expression, " wikked spirit," reminds us of Biancofiore's words to Florio in his vision,—

> " Caccia della tua nave quello *iniquo spirito*," [1]—

where the " iniquo spirito " symbolizes Florio's jealousy.

The facts before us seem to indicate that Chaucer's emphasis in this scene upon Troilus's jealousy of " Horaste " is due to the influence of the episode of Florio's jealousy of Fileno in *Filocolo*, an episode that is clearly mentioned later in the same work in the tower scene upon which the Chaucerian scene as a whole is based.

In our study of the evolution of the poem *Filostrato*, we concluded that, in adding the character Pandaro to the story of Troilus and Briseida, Boccaccio drew to some extent upon his own earlier *Filocolo*.[2]    We found that the Duke and Ascalione in *Filocolo* counsel Florio in terms strikingly similar to conversations between Pandaro and Troilo in *Filostrato*.   In the parallel conversations in *Troilus*, Chaucer in the main follows *Filostrato* ; but in some cases the English author amplifies the Italian poem with materials that may have their source in *Filocolo*.

In Pandarus' first conversation with Troilus concerning his love,[3] Chaucer makes liberal and literal use of what *Filostrato* provides.[4] One of the English author's additions at this point is shown in Pandarus' attempt to comfort Troilus by citing " examples " from antiquity,—

> " ' I woot wel that it fareth thus by me
> As to thy brother Parys an herdesse,

---

[1] *Filocolo*, I, 259–260.  This parallel is not to be accepted, however, without reference to *Filostrato*, vii, 18, 3–4,—

> " . . . e 'l nemico
> Spirto di gelosia . . ."

Boccaccio's account of Diana's visit to the house of Gelosia (*Filocolo*, I, 275–278) is evidently based upon Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, ii, 752–801.   Cf. B. Zumbini, *Nuova Antologia*, Serie II[a], Vol. XVIII (1879), p. 694.  One word in Chaucer's line,

> " And wolde a busshel *venim* al excusen " (*T. and C.*, iii, 1025),

has a parallel in Ovid's lines,

> " . . . lingua est suffusa *veneno*
>
> Inspiratque nocens virus piceumque per ossa
> Dissipat et medio spargit pulmone *venenum* "
>                                   (*Metamorphoses*, ii, 777, 800–801).

[2] See above, pp. 56 ff.     [3] *T. and C.*, i, 547–1061.     [4] *Filostrato*, ii, 1–33.

> Which that y-cleped was Oënone,
> Wroot in a compleynt of hir hevinesse :
> Ye sey the lettre that she wroot, y gesse ?
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .
>
> And sith thou hast a felawe, tel thy mone ;
> For this nis not, certeyn, the nexte wyse
> To winnen love, as techen us the wyse,
> To walwe and wepe as Niobe the quene,
> Whos teres yet in marbel been ysene.' " [1]

Troilus, however, takes no comfort from such "ensaumples,"—

> " ' But suffre me my mischef to biwayle,
> For thy proverbes may me nought avayle.
>
> Nor other cure canstow noon for me.
> Eek I nil not be cured, I wol deye ;
> What knowe I of the quene Niobe ?
> *Lat be thyne olde ensaumples*, I thee preye.' " [2]

Pandaro in *Filostrato*, although quite as profuse in offering his friendship, does not bore his friend with an idle citing of examples. In *Filocolo*, however, we find a precise parallel to the "ensaumples" of Pandarus. When Duke Feramonte is inquiring concerning Florio's love and is offering him friendship and comfort, he points to ancient cases of love troubles similar to those of Florio,—

" ' A questo acquistare suole essere agli amanti molto affanno e noia . . . e di questo è l' antica età tutta piena di *esempli*,' " [3]—

citing the case of Meilanion, Hylaeus, and Atalante, and of Acontius and Cydippe. Troilus's reference to "ensaumples" reminds us also of Florio's soliloquy later, when he cites to himself the case of Hypsiphyle, Jason, Medea, and Creusa, and of Oenone and Paris, adding,—

" Oh quanti *esempli* a questi simili si troverebbero, ma al mio dolore niuno simile se ne troverebbe. ·. . . Ora fossi io in quell' ora stato morto . . . certo la mia vita non si prolungherà più." [4]

Pandarus' account to Criseyde of the way in which he discovered Troilus's love for her is in some respects livelier than the parallel account in *Filostrato*. Pandarus says that when he overheard Troilus in the garden complaining of his love-pangs, he immediately stole upon him as follows :

[1] *T. and C.*, i, 652–6, 696–700.          [2] *Id.*, i, 755–760.
[3] *Filocolo*, I, 219.                        [4] *Id.*, I, 256–257.

> "And I with that gan stille awey to goon,
> And leet ther-of as no-thing wist hadde I,
> And com ayein anoon and stood him by,
> And seyde, "a-wake, ye slepen al to longe;
> It semeth nat that love dooth yow longe,
>
> That slepen so that no man may yow wake.
> Who sey ever or this so dul a man?"
> "Ye, freend," quod he, "do ye your hedes ake
> For love, and lat me liven as I can." "" [1]

The parallel part of *Filostrato* does not provide the lively details that Chaucer introduces.[2]   The Chaucerian details, however, seem to be almost precisely anticipated in *Filocolo*, where the Duke and Ascalione one day in the garden approach Florio with greetings, to which they receive no response until Ascalione arouses the young lover from his painful thoughts of Biancofiore,—

"Era Florio tanto nello immaginar la sua Biancofiore, che nè per la venuta di costoro, nè *per lo loro saluto si mutò nè cambiò aspetto*, ma così stette come colui *che veduti nè uditi ancora non gli aveva*.   Allora Ascalione distesa la mano il prese per lo braccio, e lui tirando, disse: o innamorato giovane, *dove se' tu ora?   Dormi tu, o se' pensando fuori di te uscito . . . ma dopo molti sospiri*, alquanto da' pensieri sviluppato, alzata la testa, disse [*i. e.,* Florio]: oimè, or chi vi mena a vedere la miseria della mia vita, alla quale forse voi credete levar pena con parole confortevoli, e voi più n' aggiungete?" [3]

The Chaucerian passage reminds us also of the scene in *Filocolo* in which the Duke comes to cheer Florio and to elicit from him his love secret,—

". . . il duca che per grandissimo spazio atteso l' aveva, entrò nella camera dicendo: o Florio, lieva su, non vedi tu il cielo che ride?   Andiamo a pigliare gli usati diletti." [4]

With the first of these two passages from *Filocolo* we may further compare the passage in *Troilus* describing the manner in which Pandarus arouses Troilus when the young lover ignores the conversation of his interlocutor and falls into a reverie of love,—

> "Yet Troilus, for al this, *no word seyde*,
> But longe he lay as stille as he ded were;
> And after this *with sykinge* he abreyde,
> And to Pandarus voys he lente his ere,

[1] *T. and C.*, ii, 542-550.
[2] Cf. *Filostrato*, ii, 61-62.
[3] *Filocolo*, I, 238.
[4] *Id.*, I, 214.

> And *up his eyen caste* he, that in fere
> Was Pandarus, lest that in frenesye
> He sholde falle, or elles sone dye:
>
> And cryde ' a-wake' ful wonderly and sharpe;
> 'What? slombrestow as in a lytargye?
> Or artow lyk an asse to the harpe?'" [1]

Beyond doubt Chaucer's passage shows a reminiscence of the passage in his translation of Boethius, where Philosophie, after explaining the need of stable things, says,

"'Felestow,' quod she, 'thise thinges, and entren they aught in thy corage? *Artow lyke an asse to the harpe?*'" [2]

Although Chaucer here adopts an expression from Boethius, it still seems probable that the passage as a whole was suggested by the parallel passage in *Filocolo*, with which it agrees so nearly in external circumstances as well as in several details of expression.

Similar considerations arise in connection with another passage in the same part of the English poem, for which there are undoubted parallels both in *Filocolo* and in Chaucer's *Boethius*. Concerning Fortune, Pandarus speaks to Troilus as follows:

> " Quod Pandarus, ' than blamestow Fortune
> For thou art wrooth, ye, now at erst I see;
> Wostow nat wel that Fortune is commune
> To every maner wight in som degree?
> And yet thou hast this comfort, lo, pardee!
> That, as hir joyes moten over-goon,
> So mote hir sorwes passen everichoon.
>
> *For if hir wheel stinte any-thing to torne,*
> *Than cessed she Fortune anoon to be:*
> Now, sith hir wheel by no wey may sojorne,
> What wostow if hir mutabilitee,
> Right as thy-selven list, wol doon by thee,
> Or that she be not fer fro thyn helpinge?
> *Paraunter, thou hast cause for to singe!*
>
> And therfor wostow what I thee beseche?
> Lat be thy wo and turning to the grounde;
> *For who-so list have helping of his leche,*
> *To him bihoveth first unwrye his wounde.'" [3]

[1] *T. and C.*, i, 722–731.
[2] Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophie*, Bk. i, Pr. iv, Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, II, 8.
[3] *T. and C.*, i, 841–858.

In a similar attempt to console Florio, Duke Feramonte says,

" Pensa che infino a tanto *che la piaga si nasconde al medico diviene ella putrida e guasta il corpo, ma palesata, le più volte lievemente si sana.* E però non celare a me quella cosa la quale questo dolore ti porge, perocchè io desidero donarti, secondo il mio potere, intero conforto, e liberartene. . . . *Pensa che la fortuna non* terrà sempre ferma la ruota ; così com' ella volgendo, dal cospetto di Biancofiore ti tolse, *così in quello ancora lieto ti riporrà.*" [1]

Chaucer's relation to *Filocolo* at this point must be judged in the light of two obvious reminiscences from the English *Boethius*,—

" If Fortune bigan to dwelle stable, she cesede thanne to ben Fortune " ; [2]
" Yif thou abydest after help of thy leche, thee bihoveth discovere thy wounde." [3]

Although the passage from *Troilus* contains two obvious borrowings from *Boethius*, there is nothing to indicate that the English passage as a whole may not be the result of the similar passage in *Filocolo*. Since Chaucer seems certainly to have used the Italian romance, and since other parts of Duke Feramonte's conversation seem to be reflected in neighbouring parts of *Troilus*, it seems probable that the Chaucerian passage before us was inspired by a similar passage having similar circumstances in *Filocolo* and was graced with two borrowings from *Boethius*, rather than that the English passage was built up from two passages from *Boethius*, independently of *Filocolo*. I may at least suggest that if Chaucer did have before him Duke Feramonte's conversations with Florio, he would almost inevitably replace certain clumsy Italian expressions by expressions of precisely the same thought in the more pithy and fluent form that had already come from his own pen in his translation of Boethius.

When Troilus persistently refuses to be comforted, Pandarus blurts out,

> " ' No,' quod tho Pandarus, ' therfore I seye,
> Swich is delyt of foles to biwepe

[1] *Filocolo*, I, 215-216, 242.
[2] *Boethius*, Bk. ii, Pr. i. 82-4. In connection with *T. and C.*, i, 857-8, quoted above, see *T. and C.*, i, 783, 791, 1087-1091 ; ii, 1578-9 ; v, 1537.
[3] *Boethius*, Bk. i, Pr. iv, 4-5. Cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, edited by H. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872, cap. xxviii, p. 326 ; *Pamphilus de Amore*, ll. 1-15. edited by A. Baudouin, Paris, 1874, pp. 131-2.

> Hir wo, but *seken bote they ne kepe.*
> Now knowe I that ther *reson in thee fayleth.*' "[1]

This remark, for which there is no parallel in the corresponding
conversation in *Filostrato*, may have been suggested by the Duke's
gentler words to Florio in a similar situation in *Filocolo*,—

" ' Onde se nullo prego dee valere noi ti preghiamo che tu prenda
conforto, e da cotesti pensieri con diletti continui ti lievi : e *se
forse t' è occulta, come tu nel tuo parlar dimostri, la cagione perchè
devi pigliar diletto,* noi non ce ne maravigliamo, perocchè in così
fatti affanni le più volte *il vero conoscimento si suole smarrire.*' "[2]

As the conversation continues, Pandarus says,

> " ' . . . allas ! what may this be,
> *That thou despeyred art thus causelees ?*
> What ? *liveth not thy lady ?* benedicite !
> How wostow so that thou art gracelees ?
> Swich yvel is not alwey botelees.
> Why, put not impossible thus thy cure,
> Sin *thing to come is ofte in aventure.*' "[3]

In the absence of anything similar in *Filostrato*, there may be
significance in the Duke's remark to Florio,—

" ' . . . L' uomo non sa delle future cose la verità. . . . tu
non come desideroso della vita di Biancofiore ti rallegri ch' ella
viva, ma in pianti e in dolori consumi la tua vita.' "[4]

The comparisons adduced above[5] seem to me clearly to indicate

[1] *T. and C.,* i, 761-764.                    [2] *Filocolo*, I, 241.
[3] *T. and C.,* i, 778-784.                    [4] *Filocolo*, I, 220.
[5] With another of Pandarus' idle " proverbes,"—

> " For how might ever sweetnesse have be knowe
> To him that never tasted bitternesse ?
> Ne no man may be inly glad, I trowe,
> That never was in sorwe or som distresse ;
> Eek whyt by blak, by shame eek worthinesse,
> Ech set by other, more for other semeth ;
> As men may see ; and so the wyse it demeth."
>                     (*T. and C.,* i, 638-644),—

may be compared the similar conceit imposed by the Duke upon Florio,—

" Ma non si può sì dolce frutto com' è amore gustare senza alcuna amaritu-
dine : e le cose desiderate lungamente giungono poi molto più graziose "
(*Filocolo*, I, 221).

Whatever suggestion Chaucer may have taken from the Italian passage, he is
certainly using also the following passage from the *Roman de la Rose* :

> " Quant entrer puet en la cuisine ;
> Et set loer et set blasmer
> Liquex sunt dous, liquex amer,

that Chaucer was familiar with Duke Feramonte's talks with
Florio in *Filocolo*, and that he drew from this part of the Italian
romance suggestions for enlarging and enlivening Pandarus' similar
talks with Troilus in *Troilus and Criseyde*.

Although in his account of the *innamoramento* of Troilus in the
temple[1] Chaucer makes literal use of the parallel account in
*Filostrato*,[2] still the English author introduces many details that
are not suggested in the Italian poem. We may well inquire
whether any of Chaucer's additions may have been suggested by
the accounts of similar temple scenes in *Filocolo*,[3] *Ameto*,[4] and
*Fiammetta*.[5] In describing the immediate effect upon Troilus of
his first sight of Criseyde, Chaucer introduces lively details for
which there is no basis in *Filostrato*. According to Boccaccio,
Troilo at this juncture remains quite calm,—

> "L'occhio suo vago giunse penetrando
> La dov' era Griseida piacente,
> Sotto candido velo in bruna vesta,
> Fra l' altre donne in sì solenne festa.
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .
>
> Piacque quel atto a Troilo, al tornare

---

> Car de plusors en a goustés.
> Ausinc sachiés, et n'en doutés,
> Que qui mal essaié n'aura,
> Jà du bien gaires ne saura ;
> Et qui ne set d'honor que monte,
> Jà ne saura congnoistre honte ;
> N'onc nus ne sot quel chose est aise,
> S'il n'ot avant apris mesaise ;
> Ne n'est pas digne d'aise avoir,
> Qui ne vuet mesaise savoir ;
> Et qui bien ne la set soffrir,
> Nus ne li devroit aise offrir.
> Ainsinc va des contraires choses,
> Les unes sunt des autres gloses,
> Et qui l'une en vuet definir,
> De l'autre li doit sovenir"

(*R. de la R.*, edited by P. Marteau, Tome IV, Orléans, 1879, ll. 22354–22372).
Again, Pandarus' line,

"And next the valey is the hil a-lofte" (*T. and C.*, i, 950),
reminds us of a remark of Florio to the despairing lover, Galeone,—

"La tua doglia è grandissima : ma chi dubiterà che dopo gli altissimi monti
non sia una profonda valle ?" (*Filocolo*, II, 276.)

As to Pandarus' sententiousness, see also *Publications of Mod. Lang. Assoc.*,
XXII, 576–7, 579, 581.

[1] See *T. and C.*, i, 162–329.      [2] See *Filostrato*, i, 18–30.
[3] *Filocolo*, I, 4–8. On this scene see above, pp. 40 ff.
[4] *Ameto* (Sonzogno), pp. 227–228
[5] *Fiammetta* (Sonzogno), pp. 23–26.

> Ch' ella fe' in sè, alquanto sdegnosetto,
> Quasi dicesse : non ci si può stare ;
> E diessi più a mirare il suo aspetto." [1]

Chaucer's hero acts very differently,—

> "And up-on cas bifel, that thorugh a route
> His eye perced, and so depe it wente,
> Til on Criseyde it smoot, and ther it stente.
>
> And sodeynly he wex ther-with astoned,
> And gan hire bet biholde in thrifty wyse :
> 'O mercy, god !' thoughte he, 'wher hastow woned,
> That art so fair and goodly to devyse ?'
> Ther-with his herte gan to sprede and ryse." [2]

The English passage closely resembles part of Boccaccio's account of his own *innamoramento* at the opening of *Filocolo*,—

". . . la quale sì tosto com' io ebbi veduta, il cuore cominciò sì forte a tremare, che quasi quel tremore mi rispondeva per li menomi polsi del corpo smisuratamente : e non sappiendo perchè, nè ancora sentendo quello che egli già s' immaginava che avvenire gli dovea per la nuova vista, incominciai a dire : oimè, che è questo ? e forte dubitava non altro accidente noioso fosse." [3]

*Fiammetta* [4] offers no significant parallel here, and *Ameto* has only the less specific expression,

". . . ed il cuore già delle dette cose dimentico, nè tremebundo per altra moveste a tremare. . . ." [5]

Chaucer's words concerning the humbling of Troilus,—

> "Yet *with a look* his herte wex a-fere,
> That *he, that now was most in pryde above*,
> Wex sodeynly most subget un-to love," [6]—

have no basis in *Filostrato*, but resemble the author's words concerning himself in the parallel scene in *Filocolo*,—

". . . io *vidi dopo lungo guardare Amore* in abito tanto pietoso, che me, *cui lungamente a mia istanza avea risparmiato*, fece tornare, *desideroso d' essergli per così bella donna, subietto*." [7]

[1] *Filostrato*, i, 26, 5–8 ; 28, 1–4.
[2] *T. and C.*, i, 271–278.
[3] *Filocolo*, I, 5.  See A. Dobelli, *Il Culto dal Boccaccio per Dante*, Venezia-Firenze, 1897, p. 21.
[4] See *Fiammetta*, p. 24.          [5] *Ameto*, p. 228.
[6] *T. and C.*, i, 229–231.
[7] *Filocolo*, I, 5.  See Crescini, *Contributo*, etc., p. 191, note 3.

Another addition of Chaucer's is the following,—

> " And of hir look in him ther gan to quiken
>   So greet desir, and swich affeccioun,
>   *That in his hertes botme gan to stiken*
>   *Of hir his fixe and depe impressioun*
>
>   .    .    .    .    .    .    .
>
>   Thus *gan he make a mirour of his minde,*
>   *In which he saugh al hoolly hir figure ;*
>   And that he wel coude in his herte finde." [1]

This passage, which has no close parallel in *Filostrato*, resembles a passage in the account of the *innamoramento* in *Fiammetta*,—

" Certo io ebbi forza di ritrarre gli occhi dal riguardarlo alquanto, ma il pensiero dell' altre cose già dette ed estimate, niuno altro accidente, nè io medesima sforzandomi, mi potè torre. *E già nella mia mente essendo la effigie della sua figura rimasa, non so con che tacito diletto meco lo riguardava.*" [2]

We should be more inclined to infer Chaucer's indebtedness to *Fiammetta* in this passage were the figure less conventional,[3] and were it not for a passage in Benoit's account of the *innamoramento* of Achilles in the temple of Apollo, an account which Boccaccio certainly used [4] and which Chaucer must have known. The attack of love upon Achilles is described as follows :

> " La grant bialtez et la façon,
>   Qu'Achilles vit en la pucele,
>   Le cuist el cuer de l'estencele
>   Que ja par lui n'en ert esteinte.
>   *En son cuer l'a escrite et peinte*
>   *Ses très clers ielz vers et son front,*
>   *Et son biau chief qui tant est blont.*" [5]

There are other details in which this part of the English poem may resemble the *Roman de Troie.* Chaucer describes picturesquely the company who thronged to the temple,—

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[1] *T. and C.*, i, 295–298, 365–367. Cf. *Id.*, iii, 1499 ; v, 473-4.

[2] *Fiammetta*, p. 25.

[3] Cf. *Filocolo*, I, 252,—

". . . il *dolente petto, nel quale io continuamente effigiata ti porto* così bella come tu se' ! nè mai niuno conforto potè entrare in me senza il tuo nome,"— which resembles *T. and C.*, iii, 1499–1502,—

> " Ye be so depe in-with myn herte grave,
>   That, though I wolde it turne out of my thought,
>   As wisly verray god my soule save,
>   To dyen in the peyne, I coude nought ! "

[4] See above, pp. 35 ff.          [5] *R. de T.* (Joly), 17522–17528.

> "And to the temple, in al hir beste wyse,
> In general, ther wente many a wight,
> To herknen of Palladion the servyse;
> And namely, so many a lusty knight,
> So many a lady fresh and mayden bright,
> Ful wel arayed, bothe moste and leste,
> Ye, bothe for the seson and the feste." [1]

Boccaccio writes merely,

> "Alla qual festa e donne e cavalieri
> Fur parimente, e tutti volentieri," [2]

whereas Benoit suggests Chaucer's picturesqueness,—

> "Et toz li poples comunals;
> Molt fu festivez li annals.
>
> .    .    .    .    .
> N'i ot chevalier ne borgeis
> Qui icel jor ne festivast,
>
> .    .    .    .    .
> Mainte dame, mainte pucele
> Et mainte riche dameisele,
>
> .    .    .    .    .
> Por esgarder le sacrifice,
> L'anniversaire et le service." [3]

The evidence before us seems to indicate that in recounting the *innamoramento* of Troilus Chaucer may have been influenced by the similar accounts in *Filocolo* and in the *Roman de Troie*. There are no clear indications that Chaucer used here either *Ameto* or *Fiammetta*.

In Criseyde's absence Troilus seeks comfort in visiting her desolate house,—

> "And ther-with-al, *his meynee for to blende,*
> *A cause he fond in toune for to go,*
> And to Criseydes hous they gonnen wende.
> But lord! this sely Troilus was wo!
> Him thoughte his sorweful herte braste a-two.
> For whan he saugh hir dores sperred alle,
> Wel neigh for sorwe a-doun he gan to falle.
>
> .    .    .    .    .    .    .
> Than seyde he thus, 'O *paleys* desolat,
> O hous, of houses whylom best y-hight,

[1] *T. and C.,* i, 162–168.       [2] *Filostrato,* i, 18, 7–8.
[3] *R. de T.* (Joly), 17463–4, 17468–9, 17485–6, 17489–90. With *T. and C.,* i, 232–245, compare *R. de T.* (Joly), 17549–50, 17453–4, 18425–33, 18440–1, and *Filocolo,* I, 96–98.

> O *paleys* empty and disconsolat,
> O thou lanterne, of which queynt is the light,
> O *paleys*, whylom day, that now art night,
> Wel oughtestow to falle, and I to dye,
> Sin she is went that wont was us to gye!
>
> O *paleys*, whylom croune of houses alle,
> Enlumined with sonne of alle blisse!
> O ring, fro which the ruby is out-falle,
> O cause of wo, that cause hast been of lisse!
> Yet, sin I may no bet, *fayn wolde I kisse*
> *Thy colde dores*, dorste I for this route;'
>
> . . . . . . . .
> Ther-with he caste on Pandarus his yë
> *With chaunged face, and pitous to biholde;*
>
> . . . . . . .
> *So pitously and with so dede an hewe,*
> *That every wight mighte on his sorwe rewe.*"[1]

The English passage is, of course, directly based upon the account of Troilo's similar visit in *Filostrato*,[2] where the young lover addresses the house thus:

> ". . . lasso, quanto luminoso
> Era il luogo e piacevol, quando stava
> In te quella beltà, che 'l mio riposo
> Dentro dagli occhi suoi tutto portava;
> Or se' rimaso oscuro senza lei,
> Nè so se mai riaver la ti dei."[3]

Since the Italian poem does not suggest the detail of Troilus's kissing the doors, it has been thought that Chaucer made this addition under the influence of the *Roman de la Rose*, where Love in the course of his advice to the Lover says,

> "Si te dirai que tu dois faire
> Por l'amor de la débonnaire
> De qui tu ne pués avoir aise;
> *Au départir la porte baise,*
> Et por ce que l'en ne te voie
> Devant la maison, n'en la voie,
> Gar que tu soies repairiés
> Anciez que jors soit esclairiés."[4]

Chaucer's direct indebtedness to the French passage is not to be inferred, however, without reference to the account in *Filocolo* of

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[1] *T. and C.*, v, 526-532, 540-552, 554-5, 559-560.
[2] See *Filostrato*, v, 50, 7—55, 8.     [3] *Id.*, v, 53, 3-8.
[4] *Roman de la Rose*, ll. 2623-2630.

Florio's stealing away from Montorio to visit the abode of his
beloved *and to kiss the doors,*—

    "*E era già tale nel viso tornato che di sè faceva ognuno mara-
    vigliare.* E non avendo ardire di tornare a Marmorina, andava il
    giorno senza alcuno riposo cercando gli alti luoghi da' quali egli
    potesse meglio vedere la sua paternale casa, ove egli sapeva che
    Biancofiore dimorava. E similmente la notte non dormiva, *ma
    furtivamente e solo se n' andava infino alle porti* del *palagio* del suo
    padre . . . e quivi giunto, si poneva a sedere e con sospiri e con
    pianto *più volte le baciava,* dicendo : *o ingrate porti,* perchè mi
    tenete voi che io non possa appressarmi al mio disio, il quale dentro
    da voi serrato tenete ?" [1]

Since this Italian passage not only recounts a lover's visit to the
abode of his *innamorata* but also contains the detail of his kissing
the doors, I am inclined to infer Chaucer's indebtedness to
*Filocolo* at this point for at least one external detail. Two
additional details in the English passage may, or may not,
increase the probability of such indebtedness. According to
Chaucer, Troilus says,

          "'As go we seen the *paleys* of Criseyde,'" [2]

and the word, *paleys,* recurs several times in references to Criseyde's
dwelling in the English passage quoted above. In *Filostrato,*
Criseyde's dwelling is mentioned only as "la casa," [3] and as "la
magione," [4] whereas in *Filocolo* we are told that Florio went
"infino alle porti del *palagio.*" [5]  Again, Chaucer speaks of
Troilus's leaving the royal palace,

          ". . . *in toune* for to go." [6]

Such an expression here is, no doubt, entirely intelligible, even
though the royal dwelling and the *terminus ad quem* are both "in
toune." This expression may or may not show the influence of the
parallel account in *Filocolo,* according to which Florio, banished to
a neighbouring estate, does actually return "to toune" to visit the
abode of Biancofiore. Whether or not these more detailed
resemblances have significance, I believe that the detail of
kissing the doors, which is absent from *Filostrato,* is more likely
to have been adopted by Chaucer from *Filocolo,* where it occurs
in an account of an episode similar to that in *Troilus,* than from

[1] *Filocolo,* I, 124.
[3] *Filostrato,* v, 50, 8.
[5] *Filocolo,* I, 124, quoted above.

[2] *T. and C.,* v, 523.
[4] *Id.,* v, 51, 7.
[6] *T. and C.,* v, 527.

an isolated passage in the *Roman de la Rose*. When Chaucer introduced this detail, however, he may have been well aware of its occurrence also in the French poem, which he used freely elsewhere in *Troilus*.[1]

In the absence of a direct parallel in *Filostrato*, one is tempted to seek for the influence of *Filocolo* in that charming passage of *Troilus* in which we are told that after much troubled thought of her new love,[2] Criseyde seeks recreation by descending into the garden with her three nieces, where they listen to Antigone's "Trojan song" in praise of love and of a lover.[3] However, when we examine the several garden scenes in *Filocolo*,[4] we find none that essentially resembles Chaucer's. To be sure, in one passage we are told that while Edea and Calmena wait in the garden for Florio, whom they mean to seduce, they sing a song to pass the time,—

". . . incominciarono a *cantare un' amorosa canzonetta, con voci tanto dolci e chiare, che più tosto d' angeli che d' umane* creature parevano."[5]

Although the Italian expressions may show resemblances to Chaucer's lines,

> " Til at the laste Antigone the shene
> Gan *on a Trojan song to singe clere,*
> That it *an heven was hir voys to here,*"[6]

the scene as a whole is no parallel at all to that in *Troilus*.

However, in connection with the English scene in hand, I believe that sufficient consideration has not been given to a passage in *Filostrato* itself,[7] in which we read that on one occasion, after leading Pandaro into a garden, Troilo breaks into a somewhat long and elaborate love song. In the parallel part of the English poem Chaucer follows closely the Italian stanza[8] immediately preceding Troilo's song,—

> " And by the hond ful ofte he wolde take
> This Pandarus, and in-to gardin lede,
> And swich a feste and swich a proces make

---

[1] See Koeppel, *Anglia*, XIV, 241–244 ; *Publications of Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXII, 552–595.
[2] See *T. and C.*, ii, 598–811.     [3] See *Id.*, ii, 813–896.
[4] See *Filocolo*, I, 183–4, 212–214, 229–238 ; II, 27–34.
[5] *Filocolo*, I, 230.       [6] *T. and C.*, ii, 824–826.
[7] *Filostrato*, iii, 73–89.     [8] *Id.*, iii, 73, 1–8.

> Him of Criseyde, and of hir womanhede,
> And of hir beautee, that, with-outen drede,
> It was an hevene his wordes for to here ;
> And thanne he wolde singe in this manere." [1]

At this point, for Troilo's song, Chaucer substitutes a song based almost entirely upon a passage in *Boethius*.[2] The poet's deliberation in this procedure is shown in his using the first five and a half[3] of the sixteen stanzas[4] of Troilo's song in the Proemium of the Third Book of *Troilus*. The last ten and a half stanzas of Troilo's song,[5] which, so far as I know, have never been cited as a source of any part of the English poem, may be at the basis of Antigone's "Trojan song." In Antigone's song, the *innamorata*, after pledging herself to Love, gives thanks for being bestowed in so worthy a place. She praises her lover and enumerates his noble qualities. She lauds the moral effects of love, and condemns those who find in love any vice. She closes with a declaration of constancy. Similarly, in the part of Troilo's song under consideration, the lover thankfully praises Love for receiving him as a true subject and for giving him the love of so noble a person. He mentions specifically the noble qualities of his lady, and hints at his own moral unworthiness. A comparison of some passages will, perhaps, enforce the resemblance of the two works at this point.[6]

<table>
<tr><td align="center">*Troilus*</td><td align="center">*Filostrato*</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">1</td></tr>
<tr><td>
She seyde, "O love, to whom I have and shal<br>
Ben humble *subgit, trewe* in myn entente,<br>
As I best can, to yow, lord, yeve ich al<br>
For ever-more, myn hertes lust to rente.<br>
For never yet thy grace no wight sente<br>
So blisful cause as me, my lyf to lede<br>
In alle joye and *seurtee*, out of drede.[7]
</td><td>
E benedico il figliuol che m' accese<br>
Del suo valor, per la virtù di lei,<br>
E che m' ha fatto a lei *servo verace*,<br>
Negli occhi suoi ponendo *la mia pace*.[8]
</td></tr>
</table>

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[1] *T. and C.*, iii, 1737–1743.

[2] *Boethius*, Lib. II, met. 8 ; *T. and C.*, iii, 1744–1771. Cf. Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, II, 483, and J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, Chaucer Society, 1907, pp. 7–8.

[3] *Filostrato*, iii, 74, 1—79, 4.    [4] *Id.*, iii, 74–89.

[5] *Id.*, iii, 79, 5—89, 8.

[6] I present these parallels not so much for their verbal resemblances as for their resemblances in thought. It should, of course, be remembered that Troilo sings of a lady and Antigone of a man.

[7] *T. and C.*, ii, 827–833.    [8] *Filostrato*, iii, 83, 5-8.

2

As he that is the welle of worthinesse,
Of trouthe ground, mirour of goodli-
    heed,
Of wit Appollo, stoon of sikernesse,
Of vertu rote, of lust findere and
    heed.[1]

E benedico . . .
       . . . il punto, che così
Onesta, bella, leggiadra e cortese,
Primieramente apparve agli occhi
    miei ;
E benedico il figliuol che m' accese
Del suo valor, per la virtù di lei.[2]

3

Thurgh which is alle sorwe fro me
    deed.[3]

E benedico i ferventi sospiri
Ch' i' ho per lei cacciati già dal petto.[4]

4

Whom sholde I thanke but yow, god
    of love,
Of al this blisse, in which to bathe I
    ginne ?
And thanked be ye, lord, for that I
    love !
This is the righte lyf that I am inne,
To flemen alle manere vyce and sinne :
This doth me so to vertu for to
    entende,
That day by day I in my wil amende.[5]

Ma sopra tutti benedico Iddio,
Che tanto cara donna diede al mondo,
E che tanto di lume ancor nel mio
Discerner pose in questo basso fondo,
Che in lei, innanzi ad ogni altro disio,
Io accendessi e fossine giocondo,
Talchè grazie giammai non si porieno
Render per uom, quai render si dovri-
    eno.[6]

5

For alle the folk that han or been on
    lyve
Ne conne wel the blisse of love dis-
    cryve.[7]

Mi riconosco innamorato tanto,
Ch' esprimere giammai non potre'
    quanto.

.    .    .    .    .    .
Se cento lingue, e ciascuna parlante,
Nella mia bocca fossero, e 'l sapere
Nel petto avessi d' ogni poetante,
Esprimer non potrei le virtù vere,
L' alta piacevolezza e l' abbondante
Sua cortesia.[8]

6

But wene ye that every wrecche woot
The *parfit blisse of love ?*[9]

E benedico i pianti ed i martirj
Che fatti m' ha avere *amor perfetto*.[10]

From the facts before us, I am inclined to infer that the garden
scene [11] in which Criseyde and her nieces listen to Antigone's love
song was suggested by the similar garden scene in which Troilo
and Pandaro appear in *Filostrato*.[12]   There are distinct indications
that Antigone's song [13] is modelled on the latter part [14] of Troilo's

[1] *T. and C.*, ii, 841–844.
[3] *T. and C.*, ii, 845.
[5] *T. and C.*, ii, 848–854.
[7] *T. and C.*, ii, 888–889.
[9] *T. and C.*, ii, 890–891.
[11] *T. and C.*, ii, 813–903.
[13] *T. and C.*, ii, 827–875.

[2] *Filostrato*, iii, 83, 1–6.
[4] *Filostrato*, iii, 84, 1–2.
[6] *Filostrato*, iii, 85, 1–8.
[8] *Filostrato*, iii, 79, 7–8 ; 86, 1–6.
[10] *Filostrato*, iii, 84, 3–4.
[12] *Filostrato*, iii, 73–89.
[14] *Filostrato*, iii, 79, 5—89, 8.

song, the first part of which Chaucer used elsewhere.[1] If my inferences are justified, Chaucer's literary economy in the matter seems clear. From one garden scene in *Filostrato*,[2] the English author, by using a passage from *Boethius*, made two garden scenes and two songs[3] in *Troilus*, and still had left the material for the Proemio of the Third Book of the English poem.

Twice in *Troilus*, without justification in his immediate source, *Filostrato*, Chaucer makes Troilus refer to his own burial.[4] When Troilus hears that Criseyde is to be taken from him he allows himself a considerable lament,[5] most of which is taken directly from *Filostrato*.[6] Toward the end of the English passage, however, Troilus apostrophizes Criseyde, and adds certain expressions concerning his own burial for which there is no suggestion in the Italian poem,—

> " . . . but when myn herte dyeth,
> *My spirit, which that so un-to yow hyeth,*
> Receyve in gree, for that shal ay yow serve ;
> For-thy no fors is, though the body sterve.
>
> . . . . . . . .
> O ye loveres . . .[7]
> . . . . . . . .
> . . . whan ye comen by my sepulture,
> *Remembreth that your felawe resteth there ;*
> *For I lovede eek, though I unworthy were.'* "[8]

Chaucer's tender lines may have been suggested by a dry passage in the letter that Florio writes to Biancofiore when he suspects that she has abandoned him,—

" . . . se questo esser vero sentirò, con altra certezza che quella che io ti scrivo, per gli eterni iddii la mia vita in più lungo spazio non si distenderà, ma contento che *nella mia sepoltura si possa scrivere,* ʻ*qui giace Florio morto per amore di Biancofiore,*ʼ *mi ucciderò ; sempre poi perseguendo la tua anima,* se alla mia non sarà mutata altra legge che quella alla quale ora è costretta.[9]

As to the source of the later passage in *Troilus* in which the

[1] *Filostrato*, iii, 74, 1—79, 4 ; *T. and C.*, iii, 1-38.
[2] *Filostrato*, iii, 73-89.
[3] *T. and C.*, ii, 813-903 ; iii, 1737-1771.
[4] See *id.*, iv, 327-329 ; v, 298-315.
[5] *Id.*, iv, 260-336.      [6] *Filostrato*, iv, 30-37.
[7] *T. and C.*, iv, 319-323.
[8] *Id.*, iv, 327-329.  *T. and C.*, iv, 319-322, has a basis in *Filostrato*, iv, 34, 1-8, but the reference to burial (*T. and C.*, iv, 327-329) is in no way suggested in the Italian poem.
[9] *Filocolo*, I, 266-267.

despairing lover gives orders for his own funeral ceremonies,[1] Professor Skeat has undoubtedly led us in the right direction in referring us to the account of the burial of Arcite in the *Knight's Tale*.[2] But in this part of the *Knight's Tale* Chaucer is seriously abridging his source,—

> " But shortly to the poynt than wol I wende,
> And maken of my longe tale an ende," [3]—

and omits some details of *Teseide* that he may be using in the similar part of *Troilus*. In " pleyes palestral "[4] Chaucer may have had in mind the " unta palestra "[5] of *Teseide*, a phrase that he does not translate slavishly in the parallel passage of the *Knight's Tale*, though his paraphrase is close,—

> ". . . ne how the Grekes pleye
> The wake-pleyes, ne kepe I nat to seye ;
> Who wrastleth best naked, with oille enoynt." [6]

Concerning the disposition of his ashes Troilus says,

> " ' *The poudre* in which myn herte ybrend shal torne,
> That preye I thee thou take and it conserve
> *In a vessel, that men clepeth an urne*
> *Of gold.* . . ."[7]

This passage, for which there is no parallel in the *Knight's Tale*, may reflect the account of the disposition of the ashes of Arcite in *Teseide*,—

> " E con pietosa man tutte raccolse
> *Le ceneri* da capo prima spente
> Con molto vino, e di terra le tolse,

[1] See *T. and C.*, v, 298–315.

[2] In connection with the lines (*T. and C.*, v, 306–308),

> "". . . and offre Mars my stede,
> My swerd, myn helm, and, leve brother dere,
> My sheld to Pallas yef, that shyneth clere,' "

Professor Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer*, II, 496) cites the lines in the *Knight's Tale*, (Group A, 2889–2894),

> " Duk Theseus leet forth three stedes bringe,
> That trapped were in steel al gliteringe,
> And covered with the armes of daun Arcite.
> Upon thise stedes, that weren grete and whyte,
> Ther seten folk, of which oon bar his sheeld,
> Another his spere up in his hondes heeld."

[3] Group A, 2965–2966.       [4] *T. and C.*, v, 304.

[5] *Teseide*, xi, 62, 1.       [6] Group A, 2959–2961.

[7] *T. and C.*, v, 309–312.

> Ed *in un' urna d' oro umilemente*
> *Le mise. . . ."* [1]

The Envoy to *Troilus* contains the following graceful lines :

> " Go, *litel book*, go litel myn tregedie,
> Ther god *thy maker* yet, er that he dye,
> So sende might to make in som comedie !
> But *litel book*, *no making thou nenvye*,
> *But subgit be to alle poesye ;*
> And kis the steppes, wher-as thou seest pace
> *Virgile, Ovyde, Omer, Lucan, and Stace."* [2]

The similar Envoy at the end of *Filostrato*,[3] addressed to " canzon mia pietosa," [4] provides none of the details of the English stanza,[5] whereas the Envoy of *Filocolo* contains many of them,—

" O *piccolo mio libretto* . . . se di me *tuo fattore* t' è cura, dimora con lei, ove io dimorare non oso, *nè di maggior fama aver sollecitudine ;* che conciossiecosachè tu da umil giovane sii creato, *il cercare gli alti luoghi ti si disdice,* e però agli eccellenti ingegni, e alle robuste menti lascia i gran versi di *Virgilio. . . .* E quelli del valoroso *Lucano* . . . insieme con quelli del *Tolosano Stazio.* E chi con molta efficacia ama, il *Sulmontino Ovidio* seguiti, delle cui opere tu se' confortatore.  Nè ti sia cura di volere esser dove i misurati versi del Fiorentino Dante si cantino, *il quale tu, siccome piccolo servidore, molto dei reverente seguire.  Lascia a costoro il debito onore,* il qual volere usurpare con vergogna t' acquisterebbe danno.  Elle son tutte cose da lasciare agli alti ingegni . . . e *i morsi dell' invidia quanto puoi schifa."* [6]

In view of these similarities, I cannot avoid the conclusion that the writer of *Troilus* is once more influenced by *Filocolo*.[7]

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[1] *Teseide*, xi, 58, 2–6.              [2] *T. and C.*, v, 1786–1792.

[3] *Filostrato*, ix, 1–8.              [4] *Id.*, ix, 1, 2.

[5] For an attempt to derive two or three of the English words from the Italian of *Filostrato*, see Rossetti, *Comparison*, p. 299.

[6] *Filocolo*, II, 376–377.

[7] Chaucer's " steppes " (*T. and C.*, v, 1791), and possibly one or two other of the English words, may be due to a passage in the Envoy of the *Thebais* of Statius,—

> ". . . nec tu divinam Aeneida tenta,
> Sed longe sequere, et *vestigia semper adora* "

(*Thebais P. Papinii Statii*, edited by P. Kohlmann, Lipsiae, 1884, lib. xii, 816–817.  Cf. Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, II, 503).

In Chaucer's list of Virgile, Ovyde, Omer, Lucan, and Stace, *Omer* is substituted for the *Dante* of Boccaccio's list of Virgilio, Lucano, Stazio, Ovidio, and Dante,—a substitution easily understood in a poem dealing with the Trojan war.  The Envoy of *Fiammetta* (Sonzogno, pp. 138–140),—" O picciolo mio libretto,"—in which the book is directed to "innamorate

The demonstration attempted in the foregoing study allows me, I hope, the following summarizing observations as to the origin and development of the story of Troilus and Criseyde.

When Benoit de Sainte-Maure undertook his *Roman de Troie* he found in one of his sources,—the *De Excidio Troiae* of Dares Phrygius,—a brave and handsome prince, fancy-free, and a definitely winsome maiden without a lover. By introducing the element of love between these two characters Benoit greatly increased our interest in the young prince, brought the maiden into more vital relation to the story of Troy, and embellished his poem with the episode of Troilus and Briseida,—an episode all the more alluring for its incompleteness.

From this fragmentary love story, as created by Benoit and abridged by Guido, Boccaccio developed the complete, unified, and polished poem, *Filostrato*. This completeness Boccaccio attained partly by a skilful use of suggestions from the episode of Achilles and Polyxena in Benoit's poem, partly, no doubt, from suggestions in similar mediæval love stories, but chiefly by adapting situations, characterization, and descriptions from his own *Filocolo*, which was fresh in his mind and probably lay unfinished before him as he composed *Filostrato*.

When Chaucer undertook his poem, he used his direct source, *Filostrato*, with the utmost freedom.[1] At times he translated with literal accuracy, at times he expanded freely, and again, he deliberately added new incidents and new episodes, giving to the rather smooth and quiet narrative of *Filostrato* the liveliness and

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donne " (p. 138), shows no significant resemblances to the English stanza quoted above; but the outbreak in it against *faithless men*,—

" Gli occhi degli uomini fuggi, da' quali se pur sei veduto di': O generazione ingrata e deriditrice delle semplici donne . . ." (p. 140),—

reminds us of Chaucer's lines,—

> " Ne I sey not this al-only for these men,
> But most for wommen that bitraysed be
> Through false folk ; god yeve hem sorwe, amen !
> That with hir grete wit and subtiltee
> Bitrayse yow ! and this commeveth me
> To speke, and in effect yow alle I preye,
> Beth war of men, and herkeneth what I seye "
> 
> (*T. and C.*, v, 1779–1785).

[1] For a recent statement as to the manner in which Chaucer used *Filostrato*, see J. L. Lowes, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XX, 851, note 1.

complexity of a drama.[1]   In these additions to the action of the
story, Chaucer adapted bits of the *Roman de Troie* and of the
*Historia Troiana* that Boccaccio had rejected, and for one critical
episode and for numerous details he reverted to *Filocolo.*

More important than Chaucer's additions to the action are his
transformations of the characters of *Filostrato.*   These trans-
formations, each of which calls for a separate essay,[2] may be
roughly estimated as follows :

Pandaro, the youthful cousin of Griseida and the devoted
though impulsive and unscrupulous friend of Troilo, becomes the
more mature, though still lusty, uncle of Criseyde and the faithful
though increasingly cynical friend and adviser of Troilus.   In the
maturity of Pandarus and in the sententiousness that accompanies
this maturity we have surmised the influence of Duke Feramonte
of *Filocolo.*[3]

The English poet does not seriously modify the character of
Troilo.   Both in *Filostrato* and in *Troilus* the hero is valiant,
modest, and ever faithful in love,—never absorbingly interesting.
In both poems he is the gentle, passive creature of love and of
circumstance.   In Chaucer's character, however, there is a charm
of humility that we do not feel in the colourless hero of *Filostrato.*

Chaucer's most subtle and interesting achievement in character-
ization is the transformation of the ready wanton, Griseida, into
the dignified, modest, intuitive, yet yielding Criseyde.   Whereas
Griseida's simple sensuality requires no analysis, Criseyde's tender
complexity almost eludes such a process.   Though in general the
English poet accomplishes this change by subtle inventions of his
own, what may be called the climax in Criseyde's relations to
Troilus,—her first utter yielding to his passion,—is brought about
in a conspicuous episode modelled on a scene in *Filocolo.*

Chaucer's supplementary use of *Filocolo* is very different from
his direct use of *Filostrato.*   In no case does he follow closely
the dull and pedantic prose of the Italian romance.   In general
he seems to have adopted from *Filocolo* mere suggestions for
enforcing changes in character and for adding new incidents.
With such suggestions his indebtedness to that work ceases, for

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[1] Concerning this dramatic element in *Troilus*, see T. R. Price, *Publications Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XI, 310–322 ; J. L. Lowes, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XX, 836–837.

[2] For a recent estimate of the characterization in Chaucer's poem, see R. K. Root, *The Poetry of Chaucer*, Boston and New York, 1906, pp. 105–122.

[3] See above, pp. 161 ff.

the results in the English poem betray so slightly their prosaic origin that the process of the poet as well as his accomplishment becomes apparent only after some such arid and soulless process as I have tried to pursue in the present study. The dry comparison of details in the preceding pages is perhaps justified if we have now even a ray of new light upon Chaucer's skilful adaptation of diverse sources, his enlivening of action, his beautifying of detail, and his subtle differentiation in character.

In conclusion, I must admit that to one riddle of Chaucerian inquiry I offer no suggestion toward elucidation, but rather, new perplexity. If it be true that Chaucer used with a free hand not only *Filostrato* and *Teseide*, but also *Filocolo*, we are the more puzzled over the fact that nowhere in his works does he mention Boccaccio, and we ask with new impatience, Why does Chaucer acknowledge his debt to his favourite Italian author only through the cryptic name of Lollius?[1]

[1] For a classification of views concerning Lollius, see Appendix C. If I have succeeded in showing that in writing *Troilus* Chaucer made considerable use of *Filocolo*, the question at once arises as to the possibility of his having used *Filocolo* also in certain of his other works,—a question that I cannot treat in the present study. Perhaps the most important consideration that arises in this connection is the source of the *Franklin's Tale*, in regard to which Professor W. H. Schofield (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XVI, 405–449) and Professor Pio Rajna (*Romania*, XXXI, 40–47 ; XXXII, 204–267) have disagreed. The general view of Professor Schofield is that Chaucer had as the basis of his *Tale* some form of " Breton lay," while Professor Rajna holds in general that the *Franklin's Tale* is based upon one of a series of *questioni d' amore* in *Filocolo* (II, 48–67). In introducing *Filocolo* into Chaucer's library, so to speak, I have, perhaps, to some extent reopened this discussion,—a discussion in which I hope to take a modest part in a later article. I may say in passing that my study of Chaucer's relations to *Filocolo* has not led me to accept the main conclusion of Professor Rajna, even though I am sure that there is more evidence for his position than he himself presents. For example, now that we have independent reasons for believing that Chaucer was well acquainted with *Filocolo*, there may be some point in comparing Boccaccio's passage,

" Ma già per tutto questo Tarolfo non si rimaneva, seguendo d' Ovidio gli ammaestramenti, il quale dice : l'uomo non lasciare per durezza della donna di non perseverare, perocchè per continuanza la molle acqua fora la dura pietra" (*Filocolo*, II, 49),

with Chaucer's words concerning the consoling of Dorigen,

" By proces, as ye knowen everichoon,
Men may so longe graven in a stoon
Til som figure ther-inne emprented be"

(Canterbury Tales, Group F, 829–831),

in connection with which Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer*, V, 389) cites Ovid's,

" Gutta cavat lapidem " (*Ex Ponto*, IV, 10, 5).

On the other hand, while I believe that Chaucer used an independent lay, I think he may also have been influenced by the similar tale in *Filocolo*,—an influence for which Professor Schofield makes no explicit allowance.

# APPENDICES.

## APPENDIX A.

WE are to examine the possibility of Boccaccio's having used in *Filostrato* some Italian translation of Benoit or of Guido, or a French redaction of Benoit. We may begin by considering the Italian versions of Benoit and Guido, the episode of Troilus and Briseida in six of which is accessible to me, either in whole or in part.[1]

(I) *La Istorietta Trojana*, found in a manuscript assigned to the opening years of the fourteenth century,[2] is a somewhat abridged and decidedly free prose version of the *Roman de Troie*.[3] An enumeration of some of the points in which the *Istorietta* differs from Benoit in the account[4] of Troilus and Briseida will, I think, prove conclusively that Boccaccio did not use this Italian version.

In the *Istorietta* the father of Briseida is not Calchas,—as in Benoit, in Guido, and in *Filostrato*,—but Toas.[5] In the *Istorietta* Diomedes first appears among the Greek ambassadors who convey to Priam Toas' request for Briseida, and again in the Greek escort sent next day to accompany her to the Greek camp.[6] In *Filostrato* the names of those in the first embassy are not given,[7] but in a later conversation with Griseida, Diomede seems to say that he was present in the first embassy at Calchas' special request,[8] whereas in

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[1] For general discussions of the Italian versions, see A. Benci, *Intorno a' Volgarizzatori della Storia di Troia*, in *Antologia*, Vol. XVIIIᶜ (1825), pp. 57–64 ; M. Tommaséo, *Tradizione Iliache da Omero al Trecento. Amori di Troilo e di Briseida*, in *Antologia*, XLVᶜ (1832), 19–46 ; A. Mussafia, *Sulle Versioni Italiane della Storia Trojana*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-Historische Classe,* LXVII (1871), 297–344 ; W. Greif, *Die mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen der Trojanersage*, Marburg, 1886, pp. 64–65, 73 ; E. Gorra, *Testi Inediti di Storia Trojana*, Torino 1887, pp. 152–202 ; H. Morf, *Romania*, XXI, 18–38, 88–107 ; XXIV, 174–196.

[2] Cf. Gorra, p. 152.

[3] Cf. *id.*, pp. 154–166 ; Morf, *Romania*, XXI, 92.

[4] Text in Gorra, pp. 396–403. For an extract, see Tommaséo, pp. 32–43.

[5] Gorra, p. 396.    [6] *Id.*, p. 397.

[7] *Filostrato (Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Vol. XIII, Firenze, Moutier, 1831), iv, 13.

[8] *Id.*, vi, 19, 3–6.

the *Istorietta* we are told that Diomede went in the first embassy,
"sanza comandamento."[1]  When Diomede wooes Briseida on their
way out from Troy she immediately succumbs, and gives Diomede
a ring that Troilo has given her,[2]—an account very different from
anything told us in Benoit, in Guido, or in *Filostrato*.  According
to the *Istorietta*, in order to be sure as to Briseida's conduct with
Diomede, Troilo sends "uno ragazzetto"[3] to spy upon them after
they have left Troy.  No such character or device is employed in
*Filostrato*.

Probably these details are sufficient evidence that Boccaccio did
not follow *La Istorietta Trojana*.

The episode of Troilo and Briseida in three of the Italian prose
versions,—(II) the *Versione Veneta*,[4] (III) the version of Filippo
Ceffi,[5] and (IV) the version of Mazzeo Bellebuoni,[6]—are accessible
to me only in brief extracts.[7]  A comparison of these extracts with
the parallel passages of Guido's *Historia*, confirmed by authoritative
statements regarding these three versions,[8] leads us to the tenta-
tive conclusion that the episode of Troilo and Briseida in these
versions follows closely the account given by Guido.  We may
infer, then, that none of these versions contains any material
that Boccaccio could not have found as well in their Latin prose
original.[9]

(V) The prose version of Binduccio dello Scelto[10] is based
directly upon Benoit's poem.[11]  A comparison of the Italian text
with the French original reveals few deviations at the hand of

[1] Gorra, p. 397.          [2] *Id.*, pp. 397–398.          [3] *Id.*, p. 398.
[4] Preserved in a late fifteenth-century MS.  Cf. Gorra, p. 184, note 2.
[5] Dated 1324.  Cf. Mussafia, p. 298; Benci, p. 59.
[6] Dated 1333.  Cf. Benci, p. 59.
[7] A short extract of the *Versione Veneta* is printed in *Antologia*, Vol. XLV<sup>c</sup>
(1832), p. 42.  Of the five printed editions of the version of Filippo Ceffi,
none is accessible to me.  For a list of these editions, see Mussafia, pp.
297–298; Morf, *Romania*, XXI, 93–95.  For a short extract of Ceffi's version,
see *Antologia*, Vol. XLV<sup>c</sup> (1832), p. 39.  For an extract from the version
of Mazzeo Bellebuoni, see *Antologia*, XLV<sup>c</sup>, 39–41.
[8] Cf. Gorra, pp. 172, 174, 185–193; P. Meyer, *Romania*, XIV, 77;
Morf, *Romania*, XXIV, 174–196.
[9] I am aware of the fact that some parts of the *Versione Veneta* shows
considerable variations from Guido's text (cf. Gorra, pp. 186–187), and that
the most acceptable theory at present is that this version "derivi appunto
da un rifacimento franco-veneto dell' opera di Guido" (Gorra, p. 193).  A
comparison of the only accessible extract from the Troilus episode in this
version (cf. *Antologia*, XLV<sup>c</sup> (1832), pp. 41–42) with the parallel passage in
Guido's text seems to indicate that in this episode the *Versione Veneta* departs
very little from Guido's Latin.
[10] Dated 1322.  See Benci, p. 62; Mussafia, p. 301.
[11] Cf. P. Meyer, *Romania*, XIV, 77; Gorra, p. 168; Mussafia, p. 303.

Binduccio. Two additions in the Italian version are worthy of note. In describing the circumstances of Briseida's departure from Troy, Binduccio writes,—

" E quand' ella venne al partire, ella ne va piagnendo e gridando e facendo molto gran duolo." [1]

This detail is absent from Benoit, Guido, and *Filostrato*.[2] To Benoit's account of the love pangs of Diomedes,[3] Binduccio adds some details,—

" e suda sovente fiate lo giorno . . . *elli triema così come fa la foglia dinanzi al vento*." [4]

The last expression here resembles two passages in *Filostrato* applied to the fickleness of women,—

> " Che *come al vento si volge la foglia*,
> Così in un dì ben mille volte il core
> Di lor si volge." [5]

> " Volubil *sempre come foglia al vento*." [6]

The borrowing of this detail in *Filostrato* from Binduccio is entirely unlikely in view of its commonplace nature [7] and in view of its previous use by Boccaccio in *Filocolo*.[8] I find no evidence, then, that Boccaccio used the version of Binduccio dello Scelto.

(VI) The last of the Italian versions to be considered is that contained in Codex Magliabechiano, IV, 46, at Florence,[9] which in the part containing the episode of Troilo and Briseida is based upon a French prose abridgment of Benoit's poem.[10] A comparison of

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[1] Gorra, p. 407. The text of the episode of Troilo and Briseida and of that of Achilles and Polyxena is found in Gorra, pp. 404–442. For a less complete text, see *Antologia*, Vol. XLV^c, pp. 33–39, used by Mussafia, pp. 306–314, 333–340.

[2] Cf. *Filostrato*, v, 1–9 ; *R. de T.*, 13410–13422 ; *Historia Troiana*, sig. i 2 verso, col. 1.

[3] *R. de T.* (Joly), 14927–15008.

[4] Gorra, p. 415. These details are absent from Guido's *Historia*, sig. i 4 verso, cols. 1–2.

[5] *Filostrato*, i, 22, 2–4.

[6] *Id.*, viii, 30, 8.

[7] Cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, v, 74 ; xxxiii, 65.

[8] *Filocolo (Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Vols. VII–VIII, Firenze, Moutier, 1829), I, 264.

[9] On the correct numbering of this MS., see P. Meyer, *Romania*, XIV, 77, note 2 ; and on the Paris MS. containing the same version, see *id.*, pp. 77–78.

[10] Cf. *Romania*, XIV, 77–78 ; XXI, 98 ; Gorra, p. 195.

our imperfect text [1] of the Italian version with the *Roman de Troie* reveals not a single significant divergence between them in their accounts of Troilo and Briseida.

The foregoing examination of the available texts of Italian versions yields no evidence that Boccaccio in composing *Filostrato* used any other version of the Troy story than that preserved to us in Benoit and in Guido.

Let us next inquire what evidence there may be for a statement that Boccaccio based his *Filostrato* upon "some recension of the French text of Benoit." [2]

We may first consider the version of the Troy story that comes from the hand of Jean Malkaraume in the thirteenth century.    In the midst of a poem that may pass under the broad title, *Histoire de l'Ancien Testament et de la Guerre de Troie*, this author inserted as his own a somewhat modified form of Benoit's poem. [3]    Malkaraume's modifications consist chiefly in abridgments, [4] and in a few interpolations. [5]    From the small amount of accessible information concerning these modifications, we can draw only tentative conclusions as to the manner in which Malkaraume may have rendered the episode of Troilus and Briseida.    From the fact that the author is "en général disposé à abréger," [6] and that among the interpolations mentioned none has been attached to our episode, [7] it seems probable that Malkaraume has not materially altered the story of Troilus and Briseida as it is told by Benoit.    Moreover, as we find elsewhere in this study, [8] Boccaccio drew some material for his *Filostrato* from the episode of Achilles and Polyxena as told in Benoit's poem. Since we are told that Malkaraume "passe tout ce qui concerne la recherche de Polyxène," [9] we may conclude with considerable certainty that Boccaccio did not base his *Filostrato* upon this garbled version of the *Roman de Troie*.

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[1] For an incomplete text, see *Antologia,* Vol. XLV[c], pp. 27–33,—used by Mussafia, pp. 304–305, 310–332.

[2] See above, p. 6.

[3] Cf. A. Joly, II, 4–5 ; I, 405–407.  For extracts, see Joly, I, 406–408 ; II, 13–14.

[4] Cf. Joly, I, 408 ; E. T. Granz, *Über die Quellengemeinschaft des mittelenglischen Gedichtes Seege oder Batayle of Troye und des mittelhochdeutschen Gedichtes vom trojanischen Kriege des Konrad von Würzburg,* Reudnitz-Leipzig, 1888, p. 4.

[5] Cf. Joly, I, 409 ; Granz, pp. 4–5, 73–76 ; C. H. A. Wager, *The Seege of Troye,* New York, 1899, pp. lxv, lxxxiv, 67 ; G. L. Hamilton, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Association,* XX (1905), 180 ; Greif, pp. 70, 71, 94.

[6] Joly, I, 408.                                    [7] Cf. note 3, above.

[8] See above, pp. 35 ff.                           [9] Joly, I, 408, note 1.

During the thirteenth century arose a French prose abridgment of Benoit's poem, still inedited.[1]  As we have already seen, this version is faithfully represented by an Italian version, based upon it, from which the episode of Troilo and Briseida has been extensively printed.[2]  Since there is no evidence that Boccaccio used this Italian version,[3] we infer that he made no use of the French prose abridgment behind it.

In addition to the mediæval versions of the Troy story extant in manuscripts, we must mention also a hypothetical "enlarged" version of Benoit's poem, which is inferred through a theoretical reconstruction of the common source of the Middle English *Seege of Troye* [4] and the *Trojanerkrieg* [5] of Konrad von Wurzburg.[6]  This "enlarged" version is thought to be a French redaction of Benoit's *Roman de Troie* containing considerable additions, but in some parts abridged.[7]  However, since neither of the two versions that are thought to be derivatives of the enlarged *Roman de Troie* contains the episode of Troilus [8] and Briseida, our present consideration of the hypothetical version need not be prolonged.

# APPENDIX B.

## *The Source of Filocolo.*

THE origin of the story of Floire and Blanchefleur has never been satisfactorily settled.[9]  Neither the advocates of a Spanish or Provençal provenience [10] nor those who argue for a Greek origin [11]

[1] For an account of the MSS., see P. Meyer, *Romania*, XIV, 65 ; Joly, I, 417, 420, 424.  On the date, see *Romania*, XIV, 66.  For extracts from several MSS., see Joly, I, 417–422, 425–427 ; *Romania*, XIV, 78–79.

[2] See above, p. 184.    [3] See above, p. 185.

[4] Edited by C. H. A. Wager, New York, 1899.

[5] Edited by J. von Keller, Stuttgart, 1858.

[6] For the evidence involved in this reconstruction, see E. T. Granz, *op. cit.* ; Wager, pp. lix–lxxxvi ; Hamilton, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XX, 179–180.

[7] Cf. Granz, pp. 86–88 ; Wager, pp. lxxxiv–lxxxv.

[8] Concerning the rôle of Troilus in the *Seege of Troye*, see Wager, p. 115.

[9] In my consideration of the versions of the story of Floire and Blanchefleur I follow in the main the study of V. Crescini, *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore*, 2 vols., Bologna, 1889–1899.  In this consideration I make no claim to originality, nor do I attempt to re-examine the relations of the versions in detail.    [10] See Crescini, I, 3–4.

[11] See E. Du Méril, *Floire et Blanceflor*, Paris, 1856, pp. xcii–ccv ; B. Zumbini, *Il Filocopo del Boccaccio, Nuova Antologia*, Serie IIª, Vol. XVIII (1879), pp. 673–687 ; Crescini, I, 5.

have ever advanced a definite demonstration. Whatever the obscure origin of the story may be, its popularity during the Middle Ages in all Western Europe is undoubted. Versions are extant, or can readily be inferred, in nearly every vernacular in the West, and the frequent mention of the hero and heroine in lists of lovers in mediæval documents indicates a wide reading of these versions.[1] My present task is not a study of all the versions of the story of Floire and Blanchefleur, but rather a consideration of those versions which are, or which represent, the source of *Filocolo*.

Opinions as to the immediate source of *Filocolo* have been diverse. Some scholars have held that Boccaccio took his story directly from a Greek version.[2] Others have held that he derived his material directly from the French,—either from the two extant French versions,[3] or from a French version represented by them.[4] The most recent and thoroughgoing investigation has resulted in the conclusion that Boccaccio based his work directly upon an Italian version of the story of Florio and Biancofiore.[5] This conclusion may be analyzed as follows :

1. *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore* [6] is earlier that *Filocolo*, and is based upon the lost original of *Filocolo*.[7]

2. *Il Cantare* and *Filocolo* show undoubted signs of their ultimate French origin, and also undoubted signs of localization in Italy.[8]

3. The chief source of *Filocolo* and of *Il Cantare* was a Franco-Venetian version derived from a lost French source represented by the two extant French versions.[9]

4. The lost French version which was at the basis of the Franco-Venetian source of *Filocolo* closely resembled French

[1] On the distribution of the story, see E. Du Méril, pp. xii–ccv ; E. Hausknecht, *Floris und Blauncheflur*, Berlin, 1885, pp. 4–88 ; Crescini, I, 1–24 ; F. Schwalbach, *Die Verbreitung der Sage von Flore und Blanceflor in der europäischen Literatur*, Krotoschin und Ostrowo, 1869 ; H. Herzog, *Die beiden Sagenkreise von Flore und Blanscheflur*, Wien, 1884.

[2] See Crescini, I, 26–30 ; Du Méril, pp. lxix–lxxi, clxxix, clxxxi ; A. Bartoli, *I Precursori del Boccaccio e alcune delle sue fonti*, Firenze, 1876, pp. 54–64 ; Zumbini, pp. 673–687.

[3] Edited by E. Du Méril, Paris, 1856.

[4] See Crescini, I, 25–30 ; *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXIII, 81; XXIV, 581 ; M. Landau, *Giovanni Boccaccio, sein Leben und seine Werke*, Stuttgart, 1877, p. 54.

[5] See Crescini, I, 16–24, 30–32 ; II, 10–25.

[6] Edited by Crescini, Vol. II, pp. 64–227.

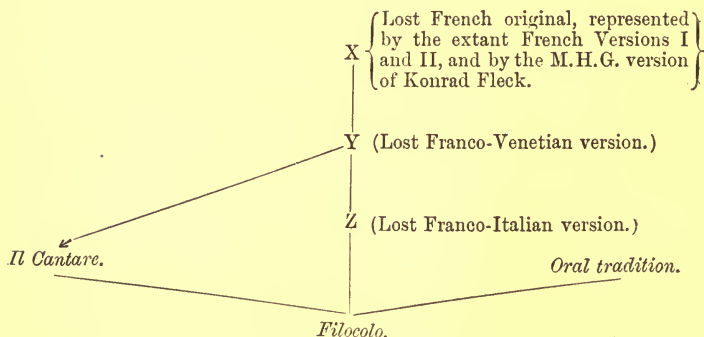[7] Crescini, I, 486–492.

[8] *Id.*, II, 6–11.

[9] *Id.*, II, 11–15.

Version I[1] and its allied Germanic versions,[2] and contains some
elements now preserved in French Version II.[3]

5. The differences between *Filocolo* and *Il Cantare* lead to
the inference that Boccaccio had for his source a longer and
freer version of the story than the source of *Il Cantare*.[4] We
may assume, therefore, a Franco-Venetian source of *Il Cantare*
and, derived from this Franco-Venetian source, a more extended
Franco-Italian source of *Filocolo*.[5]

6. Boccaccio drew not only upon his Franco-Italian source,
but also upon *Il Cantare*, and upon oral tradition.[6]

From these results[7] we may construct the following diagram
to represent the sources of *Filocolo* :



X { Lost French original, represented
by the extant French Versions I
and II, and by the M.H.G. version
of Konrad Fleck. }

Y (Lost Franco-Venetian version.)

Z (Lost Franco-Italian version.)

*Il Cantare.*                    *Oral tradition.*

*Filocolo.*

From this diagram it appears we can approximate the source of
*Filocolo* through at least four edited documents,—French Versions
I and II, *Il Cantare*, and the *Flore und Blanscheflur* of Konrad
Fleck.

[1] Edited by Du Méril, pp. 1–124.
[2] See especially *Flore und Blanscheflur* of Konrad Fleck (edited by E.
Sommer, Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1846).
[3] See Crescini, II, 20–22. For the text of French Version II, see Du
Méril, pp. 125–227.
[4] See Crescini, II, 25–27.                    [5] Cf. *id.*, pp. 27–28.
[6] Cf. *id.*, pp. 22–23.
[7] These results are accepted by A. Gaspary, *Giornale Storico della Lettera-
tura Italiana*, XIV, 438–439.

## APPENDIX C.

### *Lollius.*

THE following explanations of Chaucer's "Lollius"[1] have been offered.[2]

I. The earliest students of Chaucer who recorded their opinion ignorantly accepted Chaucer's statement that he followed a real "autour" who wrote about the Trojan war. Evidently John Lydgate had no doubt as to the existence of a real Lollius when he wrote,—

"And of this syege wrote eke Lollius."[3]

Thomas Speght in his first edition of the "Workes" of Chaucer, in the section entitled, "Most of the Authors cited by G. Chaucer in his workes, by name declared," lists "Lollius" as "an Italian Historiographer, borne in the citie of Urbine."[4]

In John Urry's edition of Chaucer[5] we find Speght's information supplemented as follows :

"The poem of *Troilus and Creseide* was written in the former part of his life and translated (as he says) from *Lollius*, an Historiographer of *Urbane* in *Italy*."[6]

In "A Short Account of Some of the Authors cited by Chaucer," appended to the Glossary of this work, we read,

"*Lollius*, an Italian Historiographer born at Urbino, who lived under the Emperors Macrinus and Heliogabalus, in the beginning of the Third Century, is said to have written the History of his own Time, and also the Life of the Emperor Diodumenus the son of Macrinus."[7]

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[1] *T. and C.*, i, 394 ; v, 1653 ; *Hous of Fame*, iii, 378.

[2] For part of the bibliography of this subject, see Hamilton, *Chaucer's Indebtedness*, etc., pp. 17, 21–22, 24, 26–27, 30, 32–40, 46–49, 133, 143–144.

[3] *The Auncient Historie and onely trewe and syncere Cronicle of the warres betwixte the Grecians and the Troyans . . . wrytten by Daretus a Troyan and Dictus a Grecian . . . and digested in Latyn by the lerned Guydo de Columpnis and sythes translated into englishe verse by John Lydgate, Moncke of Burye* (T. Marshe, 1555), sig. b 2 verso, col. 1.

[4] T. Speght, *The Workes of Our Antient and Learned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer*, London, 1598, sig. Bbbb ii verso, col. 1. On this Lollius, see G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Tomo II, Milano, 1823, p. 469.

[5] J. Urry, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, London, 1721.

[6] *Id.*, sig. f 1 verso.                     [7] *Id.*, Glossary, p. 80.

The Lollius mentioned by these commentators is not known to
have written concerning Troy, nor has any Lollius been discovered
to whom Chaucer could have referred.[1]

II. A more modern explanation is that of W. M. Rossetti, who
attempted to identify Chaucer's Lollius as Petrarch.[2]   From the
English lines,

> "And of his song nought only the sentence,
> As write myn autour called *Lollius*," [3]

which are among the lines preceding the *Cantus Troili*,[4] translated
from the 88th Sonnet of Petrarch, Rossetti inferred that Chaucer
refers to Petrarch as "Lollius."   Rossetti then sought historical
grounds for such an appellation for Petrarch, and, through second-
hand evidence, and through an utter misunderstanding of facts,[5]
gave forth the statement that, since one of Petrarch's friends
addressed him as "Laelius" in correspondence, Chaucer's use of
"Lollius" in referring to Petrarch was entirely intelligible.
Rossetti completed his explanation by the suggestion that Chaucer
may have attributed to Petrarch *Filostrato* itself, as did Pierre de
Beauveau, who translated *Filostrato* into French at the beginning
of the fifteenth century.[6]   After examining the facts, and after
receiving the famous suggestion of R. G. Latham,[7] Rossetti
withdrew his explanation.[8]

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[1] For an account of other persons of this name, see A. Forcellini, *Totius
Latinitatis Onomasticon*, Tomus IV, Prati, 1887, pp. 182–184.   W. Godwin
(*Life of Chaucer*, Vol. I, London, 1803, pp. 272, 273, 275) evidently thought
Chaucer had a real Lollius in mind, and that this Lollius must have lived in
the twelfth century (*id.*, I, 275–276).   E. G. Sandras (*Étude sur Chaucer*,
Paris, 1851, p. 43) seems to think that Chaucer knew of Lollius Urbicus, and
used his name as a blind.   I find no evidence that the Spanish scholastic
and alchemist, Lullius Raymundus (1225–1315 A.D.), wrote concerning the
Trojan war.

[2] See *Athenaeum*, Sept. 26, 1868, pp. 401, col. 3—402, col. 1.

[3] *T. and C.*, i, 393–394.          [4] *Id.*, i, 400–420.

[5] See Rossetti's retraction, *Athenaeum*, Oct. 10, 1868, p. 465.

[6] See L. Moland et C. D'Héricault, *Nouvelles Françoises en prose du XIV*e
*Siècle*, Paris, 1858, pp. xcviii–ci, 120, and see Tatlock, *The Development and
Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, Chaucer Society, 1907, p. 160.   One is
puzzled by a passage in a letter written by Boccaccio to a friend to explain
the meaning of the name "Philostropo," attached to his 15th eclogue :—
"Pro Philostropo ego intelligo gloriosum praeceptorem meum Franciscum
Petrarcam, cujus monitis saepissime mihi persuasum est, ut omissa rerum
temporalium delectatione mentem ad aeterna dirigerem et sic amores meos,
etsi non plane, satis tamen vertit ad melius."   See J. F. P. Aldance de Sade,
*Mémoires pour la vie de François Pétrarque*, Tome III, Amsterdam, 1767,
p. 505.

[7] See below, pp. 193–194.

[8] See *Athenaeum*, Oct. 10, 1868, p. 465.   This specific retraction is not
mentioned by G. W. Prothero (*A Memoir of Henry Bradshaw*, London, 1888,

In his retraction, however, Rossetti casts no doubt upon his initial assumption,—that the "Lollius" mentioned[1] just before the *Cantus Troili* refers to the author of the Italian sonnet at the basis of the *Cantus*, that is, to Petrarch. I venture to suggest that the "Lollius" mentioned here does not refer to the author of the Italian sonnet, but that, like the "Lollius" mentioned later in the English poem,[2] it refers definitely to the author of *Filostrato*.

The lines immediately preceding the *Cantus Troili* are as follows:

> " And of his song nought only the *sentence,*
> As write myn autour called Lollius,
> But pleynly, save our tonges difference,
> I dar wel sayn, in al that Troilus
> Seyde in his song; lo! every word right thus
> As I shal seyn; and who-so list it here,
> Lo! next this vers, he may it finden here."[3]

In these lines Chaucer, I think, draws a clear contrast between *Lollius,* who gives merely the "*sentence*" of the song to follow, and himself, who gives "*every word*" of it. He seems to say, "I shall give you not merely the substance of Troilus's song, as does Lollius in *Filostrato*,[4] but rather I shall give you every word of it, in so far as my English speech can translate Troilus's Trojan idiom!" In other words, Chaucer seems to claim an advantage over Lollius, the author of *Filostrato*, the advantage of possessing the very text of Troilus's song,—a sonnet of Petrarch!

I am not aware that this interpretation has been explicitly offered before.[5] If it be correct, we must conclude that the

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p. 216) or by Hamilton (p. 38, note 1). In his original explanation, Rossetti misrepresented the following facts: Petrarch had a friend, *Lelio* di Piero Stefano (concerning this Lelio and concerning references to him in letters from Francesco Nelli to Petrarch, see H. Cochin, *Lettres de Francesco Nelli à Pétrarque,* Paris, 1892, pp. 5, 243, 247, 273. See also G. Koerting, *Petrarca's Leben und Werke,* Leipzig, 1878, pp. 81–82, and G. Koerting, *Boccaccio's Leben und Werke,* Leipzig, 1880, pp. 53, 187, 304), whom he naturally addresses, in Latin, as *Laelius* (see *Lettere di Francesco Petrarca delle cose familiari libri ventiquattro,* edited by G. Fracassetti, 5 vols., Firenze, 1863–1867, lib. iii, lett. 20, 21, 22; iv, 13; vii, 5; ix, 10; xv, 8, 9; xvi, 8; xix, 3; xx, 12, 13, 14), and to whom he refers as Laelius in letters to Boccaccio (*id.,* lib. xxi, 15).

[1] *T. and C.,* i, 394.  [2] *Id.,* v, 1653.  [3] *Id.,* i, 393–399.

[4] Perhaps the "sentence" of Troilus's song is contained in *Filostrato,* i, 38 ff. Cf. Rajna, *Romania,* XXXII, 263.

[5] Without specific explanation (and perhaps none is necessary) the "Lollius" mentioned before the *Cantus Troili* is referred to Boccaccio by *The Globe Chaucer,* London, 1901, p. 443, and by Professor J. W. Bright, *Publications of the Modern Language Association,* Vol. XIX, p. xxii. This

"Lollius" mentioned before the *Cantus Troili* refers not to the author of the Italian sonnet but to the author of *Filostrato*. Moreover, this interpretation seems to suggest that the contrast is between the author of *Filostrato* and Petrarch, the author of the sonnet, rather than between Petrarch, the author of *Filostrato*, and Petrarch, the author of the sonnet.

III. Professor Henry Morley's explanation stands by itself in the following words:

"But why does Chaucer give the name of Lollius to Boccaccio? . . . The genius of the Italian poet was here spent in sowing tares ; and, with a parable of Scripture in his mind, out of Lolium, the Latin for a tare, Chaucer contrived for him, probably, a name that he thought justly significant." [1]

As one might expect, this conjecture has been generally ignored.[2]

IV. Professor J. W. Bright suggests [3] that under the influence of the mediæval "habit of etymologizing names and toying with imputed meanings" Chaucer "played with the name of one of his favourite authors." According to Professor Bright, the name, Boccaccio, struck Chaucer's ear as cacophonous, and tempted him to "genial roguishness,"—

"*Boccaccio* was understood to be a masculine formation for the corresponding feminine pejorative, *boccaccia* (derived from *bocca*, 'mouth'). It therefore suggested 'a mouthy person,' 'persona maldicente.' . . . Now the English society of Chaucer's day included a class of noisy, popular advocates, wordy fanatics. Chaucer took the radical syllable, *loll*, which had come to designate activities of the tongue, to serve as an effective equivalent of the *bocca* in the foreign name. Or, which comes to the same thing, he passed directly from *lollard* or *loller* to *Lollius*, by the simple process of Latinization."

Whether or not this theory of "genial roguishness" be too

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interpretation seems to be opposed by Kissner, *Chaucer in seinen Beziehungen zur italienischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1867, p. 8, note 1 ; Sandras, p. 45 ; W. E. A. Axon, *Chaucer Memorial Lectures*, London, 1900, p. 99 ; Rajna, *Romania*, XXXII, 263 ; Hamilton, pp. 133, 145–146 ; Rossetti, *Comparison*, p. vii, col. 1. After I had written the interpretation offered in the text above, Professor Bright printed a note in *Modern Language Notes* (Vol. XXII, Feb. 1907, p. 51, note 1), in which he offers a similar interpretation. My referring to Professor Bright's note at the very end of this foot-note, rather than in a more appropriate place, is due to the fact that my study was in proof before I knew of Professor Bright's contribution.

[1] Henry Morley, *English Writers*, Vol. V, London, etc., 1890, p. 214.
[2] See Hamilton, p. 36.
[3] See *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XIX, pp. xxii–xxiii.

learned and ingenious, it would be more acceptable if "Lollius" did not appear in the *Hous of Fame*[1] in an august list along with Homer, Dares, "Tytus," and "English Gaufride." At any rate, this suggestion can hardly hold its own against another explanation which requires less subtlety, and which seems to reconcile the "Lollius" of *Troilus* and of the *Hous of Fame.*

V. R. G. Latham long ago suggested[2] that Chaucer's mention of Lollius as a writer on the Trojan war is due ultimately to the opening line of an Epistle of Horace,—

> "Trojani belli scriptorem, Maxime Lolli,
> Dum tu declamas Romae, Praenesti relegi." [3]

Dr. Latham comments briefly as follows:

"Horace is writing to his friend, *Lollius, about the writer of the Trojan war,* meaning *Homer,* but not, in the first instance at least, naming him. I submit that by the time of Chaucer the name of the person thus addressed had become attached to the person written about."

Although Dr. Latham does not imply that Chaucer was necessarily the first to make this blunder, the initial objection made to Latham's happy suggestion was that Chaucer probably did not know the Epistles of Horace.[4] This objection was finally obviated when W. E. A. Axon pointed out the fact[5] that the Latin lines in question occur in a passage quoted from Horace in the *Polycraticus* of John of Salisbury,[6] a work that Chaucer certainly knew and probably used.[7]

Although Chaucer's acquaintance with the "Lollius" of Horace is now made almost certain, the objection still remains that the Latin poet does not mention Lollius as a writer on the Trojan

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[1] *Hous of Fame,* iii, 378.     [2] *Athenaeum,* Oct. 3, 1868, p. 433.

[3] i, 2, 1–2. With regard to the person addressed and to "Maxime" as a cognomen in this passage, see Orelli's edition, Vol. I, Berlin, 1892, pp. 316–317.

[4] See T. R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer,* 3 vols., New York, 1892, Vol. II, pp. 262–264, 410. On this point, see also W. H. Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer,* New York, 1906, p. 293 ; Rajna, *Romania,* XXXII, 265.

[5] W. E. A. Axon, *Chaucer and Horace, Notes and Queries,* Series 9, Vol. III, p. 224. See also *Chaucer Memorial Lectures,* 1900, read before the Royal Society of Literature, edited by P. W. Ames, London, 1900, p. 100.

[6] *Polycraticus,* vii, 9, *Joannis Saresberiensis . . . Opera Omnia,* edited by J. A. Giles, Vol. IV, Oxonii, 1848, p. 114.

[7] See Lounsbury, II, 362–364 ; Hamilton, pp. 143–144 ; W. W. Woollcombe, in *Essays on Chaucer* (Chaucer Society), I–IV, pp. 295–298 ; Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer,* V, 252.

war, but merely addresses him as a friend. Chaucer, it is very properly said,[1] was too good a Latinist not to know the vocative case. To meet such an objection, ten Brink suggested that Chaucer may have fallen upon such a corrupt reading as the following :

> " Trojani belli scriptorum maxime Lolli,
> Dum tu declamas Romae, Praeneste te legi,"

which would be translated as follows :

" Lollius, grösster [2] der Schriftsteller über den trojanischen Krieg, während du zu Rom declamirst, habe ich dich zu Praeneste gelesen." [3]

As a conjecture with regard to possible corruption of the text, this suggestion has not been supplanted.[4]

Is it not possible, however, without juggling Horace's lines, to suppose that after finding in the *Polycraticus* a " Maxime Lolli " or " maxime Lolli " at least mentioned in the same line with " Trojani belli scriptorem," Chaucer may have associated in memory the person addressed and the matter discussed ? Having seen Lollius spoken of with respect in this connection, may not Chaucer have thought that a sufficient guaranty for inserting that name in the list of " authorities " in the *Hous of Fame* ? In any case, from the evidence hitherto adduced, the most reasonable inference is, I think, that Chaucer's " Lollius " is in some manner due to Horace, whose " Maxime Lolli " probably reached the English author by way of the *Polycraticus* of John of Salisbury.

Why did Chaucer in *Troilus* name Lollius as his authority rather than the real author of *Filostrato* ? One may conjecture that the Italian poem came to Chaucer's hands in one of the many anonymous manuscripts [5] of the Middle Ages, and that to

[1] See, for example, Rossetti, *Comparison*, Prefatory Remarks, p. vii, note 1. Rossetti's question as to the possibility of Chaucer's having read Horace's lines in a translation has, I think, never been answered.

[2] On the wrong reading, *maxime*, see above, p. 193, note 3.

[3] B. ten Brink, *Chaucer: Studien zur Geschichte seiner Entwicklung*, Münster, 1870, pp. 87–88.

[4] Lounsbury (Vol. II, p. 410) rejects ten Brink's conjecture as " by no stretch of language . . . probable."

[5] See J. Koch, *Lollius: Essays in Chaucer*, I–IV (Chaucer Society), pp. 412–413 ; Rajna, *Romania*, XXXII, 266. The strongest case for Chaucer's ignorance of Boccaccio's authorship is that put by Tatlock, pp. 60–61. Another theory as to the nature of the manuscript in which *Filostrato* came into Chaucer's hands is that of Miss E. P. Hammond who writes (*Modern Language Notes*, XXII, 52), " One Lollius (Urbicus ?), of the third century, wrote a history unknown to us, but which according to Chaucer was of Troy.

supply the lack of an author's name he chose the high-sounding "Lollius." It is not easy, however, to believe that after visiting Italy at a time when Boccaccio was at the height of his fame as poet, novelist, and scholar, Chaucer decided to translate *Filostrato* without knowing who wrote it.[1] If Chaucer did know the true authorship of *Filostrato,* his suppression of Boccaccio's name is still perfectly intelligible. Chaucer wished to present his poem as a well-authenticated account of one of the episodes in the Trojan war. He could hardly mention as an authority on sober ancient history a contemporary writer of a vernacular poem.[2] No more could he refer to Benoit de Sainte-Maure as a historical authority, although the vernacular "romance" of this writer served him so well when he composed *Troilus.* On the other hand, Guido delle Colonne, the author of a Latin *Historia,* has a place of honour among the writers about Troy listed in the *Hous of Fame,* although he proved to be far less useful than Benoit to the writer of *Troilus.* Since Boccaccio could not be mentioned, and since *Troilus* needed the stamp of historical authenticity, what safer authority could have been cited than the remote "Maxime Lolli"?

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If we suppose that a composite volume in Chaucer's possession could contain this history of Lollius, duly marked, as (say) its first entry, and contain also, following this, the *Filostrato* of Boccaccio (a romance of Troy), as well as some of Petrarch's sonnets, all unmarked, the attribution of the entire contents by Chaucer to Lollius would be quite natural." This is, of course, a mere guess. Moreover, the initial assumption, that Chaucer's Lollius is "one Lollius (Urbicus?) of the third century," is, so far as I know, entirely unwarranted by any facts. Cf. Joly, I, 216.

[1] Concerning Chaucer's probable knowledge of Boccaccio's works, see Koch, p. 413 ; Rajna, *Romania,* XXXII, 266–267 ; C. Segrè, *Chaucer e Boccaccio,* in *Fanfulla della Domenica,* Nov. 25, 1900, p. 2, col. 2.

[2] On this position, see G. W. Prothero, *A Memoir of Henry Bradshaw,* London, 1888, p. 216 ; Segrè, p. 2, col. 2 ; M. Landau, *Giovanni Boccaccio: sein Leben und seine Werke,* Stuttgart, 1877, pp. 92–94.

THE END

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